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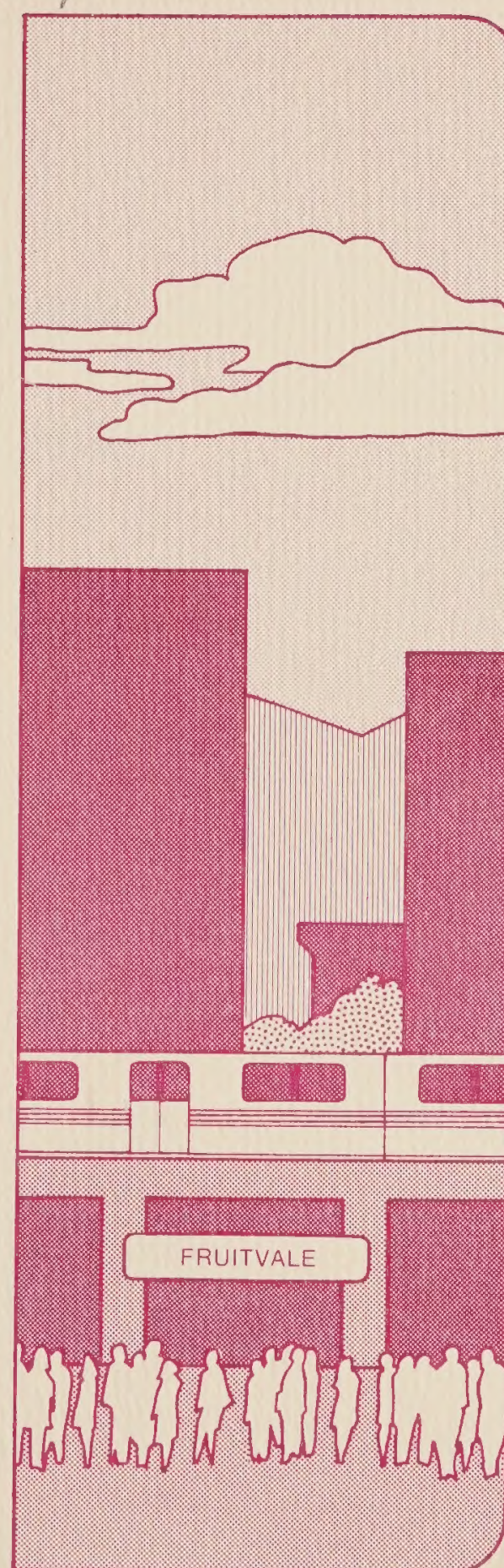
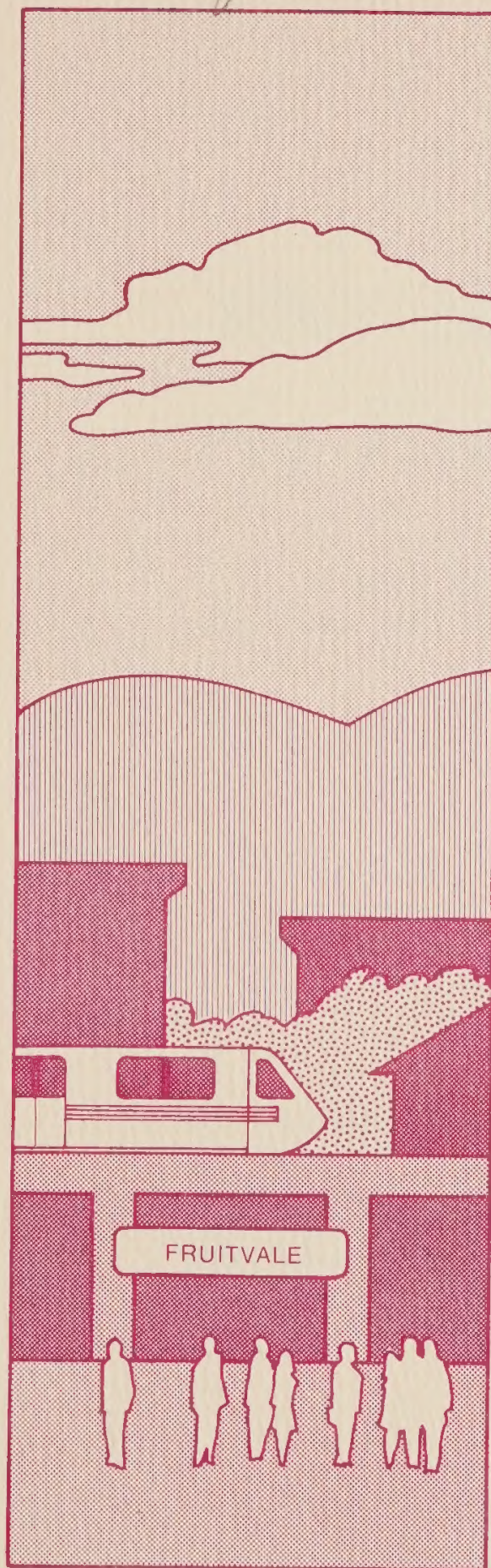
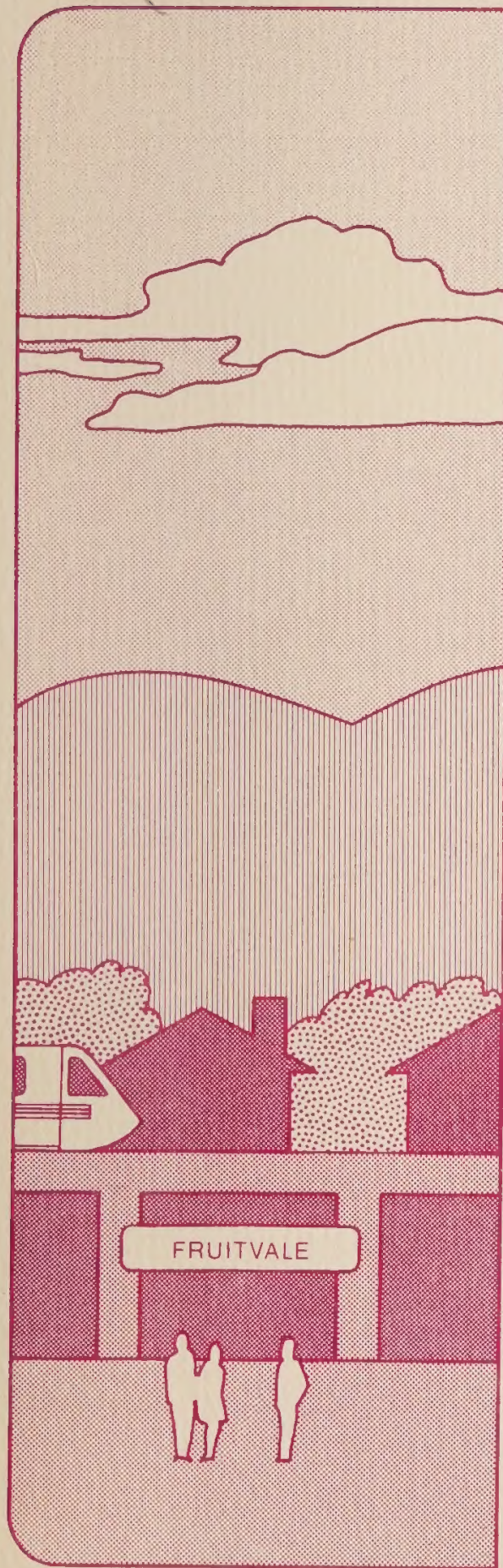
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Alternatives For Fruitvale

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A Study of the
Fruitvale BART
Station Area



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Alternatives For Fruitvale

A STUDY OF THE
FRUITVALE BART STATION AREA

January, 1974

Oakland City Planning
Department

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Preface

This report makes no recommendations as such.

Instead it analyzes conditions in Fruitvale as they are now and will be under current trends--and then sketches out alternative strategies which might be pursued to alter the course of events. It describes the kinds of actions which would be required under each alternative, and outlines the consequences which would probably result from implementing it. However, the alternatives are really concepts rather than proposals, and this report makes no attempt to recommend any one of them over the others.

Nor can it be said that the City as such is "offering" these alternatives to Fruitvale. Even if people in the area decide on one of these alternatives as their preference, there is certainly no guarantee that the City Council would decide--or could afford--to implement it. Indeed the Council, which must balance local with city-wide concerns, might prefer a different alternative. The alternatives in this report were formulated by the City Planning Department, and the City Council and the City Planning Commission did not review them prior to publication.

These alternatives are posed as a basis for discussion, by people in Fruitvale with City officials. This discussion could culminate in important policy decisions for the area. By depicting a series of broad alternatives, along with background material, this report can therefore be viewed as an aid to decision-making.

The report itself has been done as part of a study of the areas around the Fruitvale, MacArthur, and Rockridge BART stations, for which the City received

(a Federal grant in 1972.) The City undertook this study because of a longstanding interest in the possibilities of using BART stations as a catalyst for improving their surroundings.

It must be emphasized that the study has never attempted to deal with all major issues facing Fruitvale. Rather, it has focused on questions affecting land use, and more particularly on those relating to the BART station. Although the analysis here deals with economic and social factors, the alternatives themselves are basically physical in nature. This is not meant to imply that physical issues are of primary importance, or that physical improvements alone can remedy social and economic problems.

The study has been under the overall direction of the City Planning Department. The Redevelopment Agency has provided assistance on matters relating to land costs and renewal. Economic consultants were hired as the third major participant. The firm of Gruen Gruen + Associates presented their conclusions in a detailed report entitled Economic and Social Analysis of Three Oakland BART Station Areas: MacArthur, Rockridge, Fruitvale, on which much of the present report is based.

In addition, numerous citizens and groups have offered valuable assistance and suggestions--either informally, through interviews, or at meetings held in the area. Special appreciation goes to members of the Fruitvale Citizens Advisory Committee, their past president Vera Bumcrot, and their current president Ernestina Gama; Father Jerry Helfrich and Father Oliver Lynch; and Irving Malnick, Sr. Special thanks are also due

to James Cowart of the Oakland Chamber of Commerce, Howard Goode of BART, and Bob Lee of the City's Traffic Engineering and Parking Department.

While this study would not have been possible without the contributions of those named above, and others, the City Planning Department accepts sole responsibility for the conclusions presented in this report.

Highlights

General Economic Factors. New development will not occur around BART stations solely or automatically because of BART. The economic changes in the area around any station will depend also on city-wide and regional market factors -- and especially on the area's own physical and socioeconomic characteristics.

Existing Conditions. In general, Fruitvale is a lower-income community, with a variety of different land uses. The area above East 14th is nearly all residential and housing is generally in fairly good condition. The area below the BART line has extensive industrial sections and several sizable pockets of older housing; deterioration of structures is very common, and there are severe environmental problems. The major commercial strip along East 14th and the housing and industries along East 12th make up a sort of transition zone between the other two areas. The old retail section of East 14th next to the station is no longer the major shopping district it once was. General problems in Fruitvale include the crime rate and serious deficiencies in park and recreation space. Despite its problems, though, Fruitvale seems to have a strong community identity, and its relatively low-cost housing may be attractive to many households.

Possible Types of Public Actions. There are many kinds of public actions which might be carried out to change the existing conditions and economic factors in Fruitvale. These include rezonings and zoning text changes, redevelopment, conservation and rehabilitation of existing structures, many varieties of environmental or access improvements, and different forms of financial assistance programs.

Current Outlook. It is possible to outline what is likely to happen in the coming years under the

assumption that no major new public actions will be undertaken to alter the course of events. In general, BART service by itself will not significantly increase the demand for housing or commercial or industrial space in Fruitvale. All things considered, there will be at least some private-market construction of low-rise apartments in the sections above East 14th. There will probably be little commercial construction along East 14th, at least in the near future. In the section below East 14th only a relatively minor rate of industrial construction is likely. Most of its existing houses will remain for a long time, and continuing physical deterioration is likely. This, together with the environmental and crime problems, could discourage many outside commuters from using the Fruitvale BART station.

Alternatives for Fruitvale. The current outlook could be changed if appropriate new public actions were undertaken. Four broad alternative strategies are posed, and the likely effects of implementing each of them are outlined.

- Alternative I (Preservation As Is Throughout Fruitvale) would seek to preserve all sections of the study area basically as they are now, both physically and economically. Achieving this goal would require a package of actions including downzoning of the sections above East 14th, rezoning the housing pockets below East 14th from industrial to residential, widespread conservation and rehab efforts and environmental improvements to prevent further deterioration, and some form of financial assistance program where needed to enable owners to make repairs (or to minimize displacements). If this alternative were implemented, there would be little new construction. On the other hand, the spread of deterioration would be stopped, and in

certain sections there would be some minor overall improvement in the physical quality of housing and the environment.

- Alternative II (Development Near the Station) would try to keep most parts of the study area basically as they are now, and would call for actions there similar to those under Alternative I. However, it would seek to achieve new development and physical upgrading in certain sections near the station. In particular, land assembly and rebuilding right next to the station would be encouraged, through a moderate-sized redevelopment project if called for. Under this alternative there would be a good deal of housing and retail construction in some sections near the station -- and rents and typical resident incomes here would tend to increase. There would also be a positive effect on patronage at the BART station. In the remaining sections of Fruitvale the effects would be like those under Alternative I.
- Alternative III (Maximum Private Investment Without Massive Redevelopment) would seek to realize more fully the potential investment, both in new construction and existing buildings, which BART could help bring to Fruitvale; and it would encourage new development in many locations, not just those near the station. It would, though, "maximize" this investment only as far as could be done without involving a very large-scale redevelopment project. Public actions would seek to encourage rebuilding at strategic locations, however, and this could involve small public redevelopment projects where appropriate. There would also be widespread rehab and environmental improvements, especially the creation of new park or recreation space. Some less accessible sections would be downzoned to discourage underinvestment in existing structures which might be caused by speculation. The sections below the BART line would stay in industrial zoning. Under this alternative there would be a great deal of new housing construction in many sections above the BART line; there would be significant rent increases

and new residents would tend to have substantially higher incomes. Sizable retail space increases could be expected along East 14th. Below the BART line, the spread of deterioration would be halted, and existing housing would tend to be replaced by industrial expansion -- though still only gradually.

- Alternative IV (Maximum Private Investment) would be the same as Alternative III except that it would not rule out large-scale redevelopment. Indeed a large project would be called for to greatly transform the sections immediately around the station and create there a sizable "enclave" with its own special environment. Radical changes would have to be made in the circulation pattern here to allow for this. (In the rest of Fruitvale, public actions would be much like those under Alternative III.) If this alternative were implemented, there would be a great deal of housing construction, and substantial increases in rent levels and typical resident incomes, both in the "enclave" and in various sections above East 14th. A large increase of commercial space could also be expected in Fruitvale. There would be some significant increase in industrial land in the section below the main Southern Pacific line. Overall, this alternative would produce a larger assessment increase, and a bigger rise in patronage at the BART station, than any other alternative. However, the large redevelopment project would be very expensive.

Chapter 1

General Economic Factors

Before looking more closely at Fruitvale, it is necessary to consider the basic economic factors which affect the potential around BART stations generally. These are:

1. The overall economic potential of Oakland and the Bay Region.
2. The localized factors which affect the relative market for housing or nonresidential space at different specific locations.
3. BART's own direct impacts, such as reductions in travel time.

The interactions among these factors are complex. For example, BART will tend to increase the relative demand for space at some specific locations -- although, as we shall see, it will have no significant effect in places where the other localized factors are unfavorable. Also, BART may well act to stimulate overall economic growth in the Bay Region. Though estimating such a regional growth effect was beyond the scope of their assignment consultants Gruen Gruen + Associates did find that many knowledgeable people whom they interviewed had this kind of effect in mind. Furthermore, the overall Stanford Research Institute projections with which the Gruens worked (described below) may well have reflected such an effect.

One basic assumption made in the study was that BART will indeed "work": that reasonably soon, despite its current technical and fiscal problems, it will be able to start trans-bay service and generally to operate at something like its originally expected level of service.

REGIONAL AND CITY-WIDE ECONOMIC POTENTIAL

The demand for housing and nonresidential space in specific areas, like those around the BART stations, operates within the overall limits that apply to the Bay Region -- and, more specifically, to Oakland.

Employment Trends. The entire San Francisco-Oakland SMSA (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area) is unusual in terms of the relatively low percentage of employment in the manufacturing sector. Instead, a very high proportion of jobs are in business or consumer services and similar fields.

Oakland itself developed initially as a manufacturing center, and even in 1960 about 26 percent of its employment was in manufacturing. However, the number of manufacturing jobs dropped by 30.1 percent between 1960 and 1970. In contrast, the same period saw a 37 percent rise in Oakland's "FIRE" (finance, insurance, and real estate) employment and a 30 percent increase in the services category.

Table 1

TOTAL NONAGRICULTURAL WAGE AND SALARY JOBS BY
STANDARD INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION: OAKLAND, 1970-1985

<u>Standard Industrial Classification</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1975</u>	<u>1985</u>	<u>1970-1985 Change</u>	
				<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Total Nonagricultural Wage and Salary Jobs	166,802	173,800	194,400	+27,578	+16.5
Kinds Typically Using Office Space:	66,284	73,700	87,100	+20,816	+31.4
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate	10,734	12,100	15,500	+ 4,766	+44.4
Services	26,392	29,600	37,100	+10,708	+40.6
Government ^a	29,158	32,000	34,500	+ 5,342	+18.3
Retail Trade	28,484	29,100	29,900	+ 1,416	+ 5.0
Wholesale Trade	11,360	11,100	10,200	- 1,160	-10.2
Other (Including Manufacturing, Transportation, Communication, and Utilities, Contract Construction, Etc.).	60,674	59,900	67,200	+ 6,526	+10.8

Source: Gruen Gruen + Associates: Economic and Social Analysis of Three Oakland BART Station Areas: MacArthur, Rockridge, Fruitvale, with projections adjusted from those in Stanford Research Institute, Economic Projections for Oakland to 1975 and 1985.

a. "Government" includes jobs in public education.

In projecting future employment, Gruen Gruen + Associates examined the set of forecasts made in 1968 by Stanford Research Institute for the City Planning Department as part of a comprehensive analysis of Oakland's economy. They found that SRI had forecast the 1968-1972 employment growth in finance, insurance, and real estate, as well as other services in Oakland, at a slightly faster rate than actually occurred in this period.

However, the Gruens felt that the overall nature of the SRI forecasts was quite reasonable. Therefore

they decided to use SRI's basic projections but adjust their time frame a few years forward. Table 1 shows the resulting figures for 1975 and 1985.

Demand for Office Space. The demand for office space will increase partly because of the major employment growth expected in those categories which typically use office space. Probably space increases will also be required for the expanding needs of existing employment: nationally, average space per employee has been going up for a variety of economic and technological reasons. Employment growth will likely generate a

need for something like 3,500,000 square feet of additional space between 1970 and 1985, while expanded space needs for existing jobs may require some 2,000,000 square feet more. These add up to a total 1970 - 1985 net increase of about 5,500,000 square feet, or over 360,000 square feet per year. This figure should be viewed as the mid-range of a forecast which could vary 25 percent on either side.

Whether the actual pattern will be near the high or the low end of this range depends largely on the success of Oakland's Central District in attracting new offices. On the one hand, downtown Oakland's lack of a high intensity office cluster tends to reduce its attraction. Furthermore, San Francisco gives it very tough competition for headquarters offices. On the other hand, the City Center Redevelopment project may greatly enhance downtown Oakland's attractiveness. Also, typical downtown land prices in Oakland are considerably lower than in San Francisco.

Actually, the existence of this fairly cheap downtown land may tend to reduce demand for non-downtown Oakland locations by those types of office users who might otherwise seek them because of major land cost savings.

Another factor is the supply of clerical labor in the East Bay. In particular, the female labor pool in the suburbs is quite large. Furthermore, clerical wages tend to be somewhat lower in the East Bay than in San Francisco. For much of this labor supply, BART is now reducing the travel time to places near Oakland's stations -- both the downtown and the non-downtown ones.

Demand for Retail Space. Available statistics do not provide a sufficient basis for projecting the demand for retail space. However, we do know that between 1960 and 1972 Oakland's total retail sales, measured in current dollars, barely kept ahead of inflation. For some types, such as general merchandise, sales

even fell behind the inflationary rate. These figures, along with conversations with knowledgeable people, suggest that many of Oakland's present retail facilities are obsolete. Yet, if dramatic new retail concentrations can be created, such as the planned City Center shopping mall, the slow retail growth could be accelerated. If this is not done, the recent pattern of stagnation may well turn into decline.

Demand for Industrial Space. Although Oakland can expect little if any net growth in warehouse and factory jobs, there will be demand for new industrial space. New establishments will come into the City, just as some existing ones will die out or leave. There will also be a demand for space from existing establishments wanting to modernize or replace their existing facilities. In some situations the most economical way to do this will involve expanding onto adjoining property. In other cases, industries will seek to move to newly-developing industrial sections of Oakland, and they will tend to use more land at their new locations. For both reasons a substantial amount of additional industrial land will be needed, over the next couple of decades, somewhere in Oakland.

Much of this demand will probably be met by the Port of Oakland's Industrial Park and other new areas. However, other sites can probably be provided in Oakland's older industrial sections, some of which contain underused parcels and obsolete uses.

Demand for Housing. Obviously the size and make-up especially the income levels, of Oakland's population directly affect the demand for housing. Between 1960 and 1970 total population declined from 367,548 to 361,561. However, consistent with a decrease in average household size, the total number of housing units increased a little in the same period: from 141,537 to 146,615.

Recent years have seen dramatic racial and ethnic changes, although some of this trend is tapering off. While many white families have left, many others --

some with fairly high income-- have stayed within Oakland or even moved into it from outside. Young whites continue to move in, probably due partly to Oakland's growth in office jobs. Also, significant numbers of elderly white Oaklanders are staying in the local housing market.

As for the "minority" (nonwhite or Spanish-surname) households, it should be emphasized that these cover a wide range of incomes. Only a minority of these minority groups have incomes below the poverty line.

Nevertheless Oakland continues to serve as a major entry point for relatively low-income immigrants to the Bay Area. These, together with existing low and moderate-income residents, create pressures on the supply of low-priced housing. This supply has in recent years been affected by the demolition of thousands of older units which, though often in far from perfect condition, did provide relatively inexpensive shelter.

As Table 2 indicates, the bulk of recent housing additions have been multi-family -- a pattern typical of central cities. The table also reflects the sizable amount of recent "publicly assisted" construction (public housing, "236," etc.).

Much of the assisted housing has been built in low-income sections of Oakland. In contrast, as one would expect, most of the non-assisted private construction has been in such higher-income sections as the Lake Merritt district and the Hills.

Looking ahead, multi-family units (some of them rental and some condominium) will continue to be the dominant form of new construction. The shortage of vacant land, and the level of land prices, will limit the amount of new traditional single-family detached homes. However, the absolute rate of private multi-family construction is unlikely to be higher than it was in the 1960's, and it could be lower. The actual rate, in fact the

Table 2

HOUSING UNIT ADDITIONS BY TYPE:
OAKLAND, 1960-1973

	<u>1960-70</u>	<u>1970-73^b</u>
Private Market (Non-Assisted) Units:	23,318	1,324
Single-Family Units	5,758	341
Two-or Multi-Family Units	17,560	983
Publicly Assisted Units ^a	1,779	2,189 ^c
Total Units	25,097	3,513
Per Cent Publicly Assisted	7.1	62.3

Source: Oakland City Planning Department data.

- "Publicly assisted" housing includes both units owned or leased by Oakland Housing Authority and privately owned units subsidized by Federal Government under "236" or similar programs.
- Includes only part of 1973.
- Includes 58 single-family units.

whole future of private unassisted housing construction in the City, will depend on the ability of Oakland's neighborhoods to retain their appeal to middle- and higher-income people--in other words those who can afford to pay the full price of new units.

FACTORS AFFECTING DEMAND FOR A PARTICULAR LOCATION

Having considered the regional or city-wide demand for commercial, industrial, and residential uses, we can now look at the kinds of market factors that affect decisions to locate these in one particular place or

another. (Of course, zoning may to some degree influence the effects of these market factors -- for example, by narrowing the range of possible sites.)

Commercial Uses. The relative demand for commercial space at different locations tends to reflect differences in the cost of doing business and (particularly for retailing) the ability to generate sales there. These in turn depend on several major factors.

One of these is the accessibility to customers or clients with the income to make purchases. Obviously the more potential consumers, and/or the higher their incomes, the greater will be a site's sales potential. This principle applies not only to retailers but also to such uses as banks and medical and dental offices. The potential customers are usually people who live in readily accessible areas, but they may also be nearby employees or businesses. Sometimes, however, simple accessibility is not enough: people may just drive by if a store or its surroundings are unattractive.

A second, and related, factor is the particular site's advertising value. This refers to the quality and quantity of visual exposure to passers-by. It is especially important when the passers-by can easily stop and go into the establishment, but there is also a "billboard" kind of value in just being visible -- to people going through on a freeway, for example.

A third major concern is the "agglomeration effect," which has to do with the nearness of other, complementary uses. This effect is one reason for the popularity of the one-stop shopping center, but this is only one example. In general, competing sellers of similar products -- or services -- do best if they are located near each other. The series of antique stores along College Avenue, the cluster of medical offices on Pill Hill, and the "Auto Rows" along Broadway and East 14th Street are all examples of this effect.

Of the factors which affect the cost of doing business

on a particular location, some are of special importance to many office users. One matter is the nearness and range of such business services as duplicating shops. Another concern is the ease of attracting the necessary clerical labor force. Here, again, mere ease of access can often be less important than attractive surroundings. For example, an office located in a pleasant and "safe" area, with good shops and restaurants, will find it easier to attract female employees.

Industrial Uses. For a factory or warehouse, the values of different sites vary with the costs of shipping raw materials and/or other goods to and from them, and the costs of attracting the labor force needed for operation. As for shipping costs, accessibility by rail or even ship is critical for some industries. Good accessibility by truck is, of course, important for most industries. As for labor force costs, the effects described in the last paragraph for office users are often relevant to industries.

Housing. Housing demand varies dramatically between different locations. Units of equal size, type, and quality, but located in areas with different social and economic characteristics, may vary widely in price.

This is because households seek more than just a housing unit with some land under it. They also buy or rent a whole residential environment which includes such features as the neighbor's social and economic characteristics; the appearance and "prestige" of the area and the other housing in it; the quality of local schools; street safety and noise levels; and accessibility to frequently-visited places, especially to job locations.

At any one point in time, these characteristics are unique to each neighborhood. In fact, one can define a "neighborhood" as a group of housing units located within a given area and sharing a very similar set of these demand-differentiating characteristics. Expressed somewhat differently, at any given time each

type of neighborhood has its own particular pattern of housing demand. This pattern is of course reflected by obtainable rents and sales prices, which are thus very significant indicators of a neighborhood's general "quality."

Rent levels can also suggest something about how "stable" a neighborhood is. Where rents are low and the occupants cannot pay much, there is a real danger that landlords will not invest enough in maintenance. This danger is particularly acute if very few similarly low-priced vacant units are available, since the landlord then has less need to compete for the low-income tenants by investing in maintenance. When some landlords on a block visibly "undermaintain" their housing, this tends to lower the rents owners of adjacent properties can get. This in turn makes it harder for these adjacent owners to pay for improvements, and the deterioration process continues to spread.

Whenever some basic features of an area are changed, in socio-economic terms it will really become a different "neighborhood," with a different demand pattern. For example, a redevelopment project might radically improve the environment in an old residential area, and greatly increase the rents and sale prices that can be obtained for housing there.

BART'S OWN DIRECT IMPACTS

BART itself will have several types of direct impacts.

First, it will act to reduce "space impedance," especially for sites near the stations. This simply means that it will take significantly less time to get there than it used to, at least for many people.

Second, BART will increase the "advertising" value of certain locations because it will mean more, and in some cases more affluent, passers-by. This will

be especially so right at the stations, where commuters transferring from car or bus to train might be induced to drop in and buy something. Probably, however, there will also be some increase in the advertising value of readily visible properties along the BART line itself -- or along important routes taken by commuters going to the stations.

BART will also produce, or has already caused, "physical environmental" impacts (where it brings changes in visual amenity or noise level); "disruption" impacts (where BART construction has displaced people and disrupted old local activity patterns); and "boundary" impacts (where the BART line has become a barrier between very different neighborhoods).

Although some of these impacts are certainly favorable from a developer's viewpoint, in no case will new development occur solely or automatically because of BART. Whether new investment occurs around a station, or how much, will always depend on whether and how BART's own direct impacts interact with the other factors discussed earlier -- most importantly those which reflect the surrounding area's own social, economic, and environmental characteristics.

A BART will trigger dramatic change only in those situations where the local forces that resist change are weak and/or there are very strong change-seeking forces which BART's own impacts can intensify. In terms of land economics, the change-resisting forces are the costs either of acquiring and removing old land uses and building new ones, or of remodeling existing facilities to suit. The change-seeking forces (or "push factors") are the regional or city-wide, but more importantly the localized, demand for housing and non-residential space.

Chapter 2

Existing Conditions

The previous chapter emphasized that the economic effects of any BART station will depend very heavily on the surrounding area's own physical and socioeconomic characteristics. This chapter analyzes these conditions as they presently exist in Fruitvale.

In general Fruitvale is a lower-income community with a variety of different land uses. Physically, it can be divided into three main sections:

1. The area above East 14th, which is nearly all residential.
2. The section below the BART line, which has both major industries and large amounts of housing, as well as severe environmental problems.
3. The section along East 14th and down to the BART line, which contains a major commercial strip, more housing, and more industries -- and is in some ways a transition area between the other two sections.

Despite its economic and physical problems, Fruitvale seems to have a fairly strong community identity in terms of neighborhood institutions, the ethnic solidarity of the Spanish-speaking community, and the tradition of Fruitvale as a principal commercial center for East Oakland.

LAND USE

General Pattern. Map A shows the predominant pattern of existing land uses in the study area. Since this map is generalized for the sake of readability, it cannot show minor lot-by-lot variations or mixtures of different uses. Actually, for example, in the "Commercial" areas there are occasionally apartments above the stores. In the sections below East 14th Street there is even more mixture of industries and housing than this map can suggest. Furthermore, at least some two-family or multi-family dwellings are sprinkled through most of the sections labeled "Single-family residential" -- and vice-versa.

Nonetheless it is clear that the majority of residential blocks are mainly single-family. Against this background various higher-density clusters stand out. One of these is between 25th and 28th Avenues just below Foothill, where many of the lots are unusually deep. There is also a noticeable pattern of apartments in the corridor generally along Fruitvale Avenue above East 14th.

Of special interest are the various isolated "pockets" of housing, some of them quite large, in the "Kennedy Tract" section below East 14th. These are separated from each other by railroads, the freeway, major streets -- and industries.

In fact, except for the housing pockets, industrial uses extend most of the way from the shoreline up to East 14th. Some outriders can even be found above East 14th, in the middle of the block between 37th and 38th Avenues.

Commercial uses occupy all of East 14th itself, except for a grouping of medical facilities from about 27th to Derby Avenue. They also appear on portions of Fruitvale Avenue, Foothill Boulevard, and San Leandro Street.

Large public and institutional uses include Sanborn Park; St. Elizabeth's Elementary School, High School, Church, and convent on 33rd and 34th Avenues; several public schools; Our Lady's Home (a Roman Catholic facility for senior citizens) on Foothill Boulevard between 34th and 35th; the Oakland Public Schools warehouse and shops on High Street; the City Pound on Ford Street; and of course the BART parking lot next to the station.

Lot Sizes. While the majority of residential lots are fairly small, there are considerable size differences within each section. In fact there are often quite small parcels and quite large ones within a single block. Although it is difficult to generalize, at least three rough patterns of large residential lots might be noted:

1. On portions of the blocks between 25th and 28th Avenues below Foothill, as mentioned earlier.
2. Generally along Sausal Creek, especially near East 15th.
3. Roughly along Peralta Creek from Bridge Avenue to 39th.

In each of these cases, apartments have been built on some properties but other large parcels are still in low-density use.

Lot sizes vary even more widely in the commercial and industrial sections, with Wards and several of the industries occupying enormous sites.

Vacant Land. Although the total acreage involved is not great, there are presently some vacant sites in Fruitvale (most of them too small to show on Map A). Among these are:

1. A sizable lot next to Peralta Creek at the end of 37th Avenue, plus a series of smaller ones down the creek to 39th.
2. A few minor parcels on East 14th at or near the corner of 35th.
3. Some small odd-shaped pieces of land facing the BART station along East 12th, leftovers from the realignment of that street.
4. A long stretch of land on the lower side of East 12th southeast of 26th Avenue.
5. Scattered small lots within the industrial sections and housing pockets below the BART line.

Another parcel might be mentioned which is not really vacant land since it still has an unoccupied building on it. This is the large site, containing a former convalescent hospital, stretching along Sausal Creek from East 15th to East 16th Street.

Recent Construction. The last six years have seen a moderate amount of new construction in Fruitvale.

One pattern was formed by medical-related projects along or near East 14th west of Fruitvale Avenue. This included a couple of new convalescent hospitals, a new medical office building, and a hospital addition. Also on East 14th were a few small-scale commercial projects, including a new savings and loan near 34th and some construction in the automotive section beyond

Map A

GENERALIZED LAND USE 1973

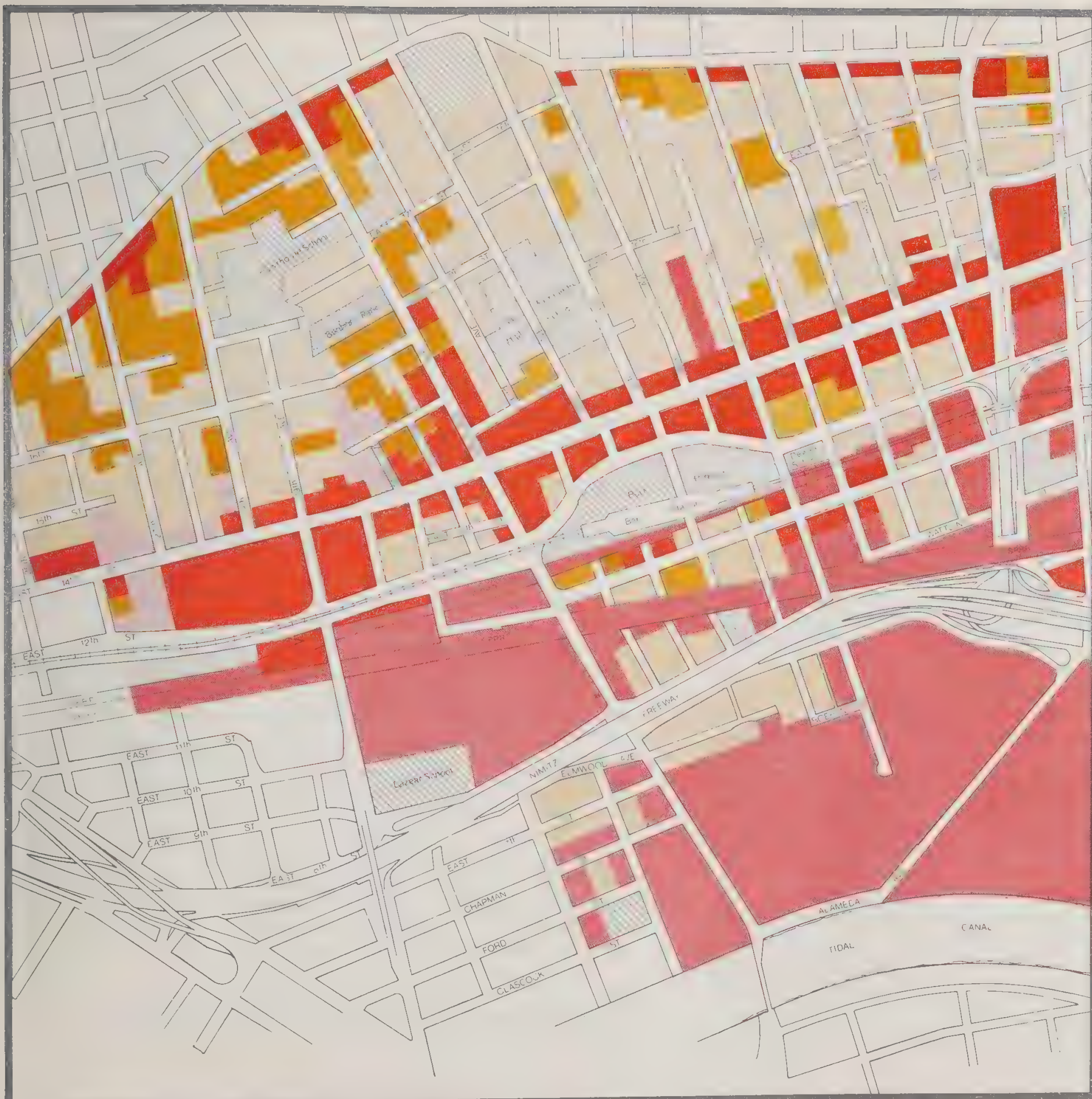
-  One-Family Residential
-  Two-Family Residential
-  Multi-Family Residential
-  Public Recreational
-  Other Public or Institutional
-  Vacant
-  Commercial
-  Medical or Medical Office
-  Industrial



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39th.

In the areas above East 14th there was some new residential construction, the majority of which was "turnkey" public housing. However, some private housing was also built, including two apartment houses near Peralta Creek and some new apartment construction in the "large lot" section between 25th and 28th Avenues. A high-rise addition to Our Lady's Home was built at Foothill and 35th.

Below East 14th, there has been some small-scale industrial or heavy commercial construction at various places. Other construction here has included a gas station (on San Leandro Street), a child care center (on East 9th Street), and the BART line and station.

COMMERCIAL, MEDICAL, AND INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES

Commercial and Medical Activities. The most important pattern of commercial activity in Fruitvale is along East 14th. A close look at this street shows considerable variation between different sections.

In the portion northwest of Fruitvale Avenue, the large Montgomery Ward store is a major activity, providing its own ample parking facilities as well as a block-size auto service center. It also seems to set the scale for surrounding activities. In general nearby commercial development is on relatively large sites, and off-street parking is frequently provided. Also, many of the uses are relatively new. Among the establishments are furniture stores, restaurants, and a bank. The cluster of medical facilities here includes the 90-bed Oakland Hospital and a large medical office building, both of them high-rise, as well as various doctors' offices and pharmacies. (Nearby are one or two convalescent hospitals and a home for the aged.)

The section from Fruitvale Avenue to about 39th is quite different. This is the traditional core of the

Fruitvale shopping district, physically defined by a more or less continuous series of storefronts. Building sites in general are relatively small. There is off-street parking, but it is usually down a side street behind the stores. The establishments here include a number of clothing stores, some variety or small "department" stores, pharmacies, beauty salons, restaurants and taverns, music stores, various home care and food supply outlets, repair services, insurance agents, several banks, some second hand stores, and a number of loan offices. There are also some prominent vacancies.

This section is no longer the major shopping district it once was, and there are several reasons for this. One factor is the low incomes in the surrounding neighborhoods; indeed, as explained later in this chapter, the incomes of Fruitvale residents have generally been declining in relative terms, compared with city-wide figures. A second factor is the local crime rate, which is also discussed later. Another major problem is that there are now large outlying shopping centers, such as Eastmont Mall, which serve people who used to shop in Fruitvale. For all these reasons merchants leave, and there are fewer and fewer stores left to draw customers.

The section beyond 39th Avenue seems to be in better shape. This is Fruitvale's Auto Row, with a long series of car sales and repair establishments.

Leading away from East 14th, portions of Fruitvale Avenue accommodate retail and service establishments and some medical uses. Along San Leandro Street there are various automotive and heavy commercial establishments as well as some "corner grocery" - type convenience stores. Finally Foothill Boulevard, along the upper edge of the study area, has commercial uses at various locations; the most important is the neighborhood shopping district near the corners of 33rd and Fruitvale Avenues.

Industrial Activities. The extensive industrial sec-

tions of Fruitvale include activities of many different types and sizes, making it very difficult to generalize about them. The major industries represented in Fruitvale include glass container and can manufacturing, food canning and processing, food storage and warehousing, building materials, wood-working and cabinetry, and chemicals.

In general the plants here benefit from their closeness to truck or rail routes. Disadvantages, at least for some of them, include narrow local streets, inadequacy of parking facilities, and the deterioration of much of the nearby housing.

PHYSICAL CHARACTER AND MAINTENANCE

General Form and Appearance. As would be expected from the variety of land uses in Fruitvale, there is a great diversity of forms and textures. These range from streets of little houses to quite enormous factory buildings.

The starkest contrasts, and the worst environmental problems, are in the section below the BART line. The freeway, two through rail lines, and several rail spurs slash across this section, creating strong barriers and adding noise and fumes. Various local industries also produce noise and odors -- and generate truck traffic -- detrimental to nearby housing. At many places, curbs and gutters are poorly maintained, inadequate, or even missing. This whole section gives a distinct impression of being "on the wrong side of the tracks." The poor housing conditions, in turn, detract from the environment for industries.

Two problems which affect all sections of Fruitvale are (1) the unsightly overhead utility lines on nearly every street and (2) the general shortage of street trees.

Large trees can be found, however, along Sausal Creek and sections of Peralta Creek. Although partly cul-

verted and largely hidden from view between back fences, these two streams still give the built-up Fruitvale area some reminder of nature. Another important "natural" feature (although originally man-made) is the Tidal Canal. In fact, except for the luxury "Portobello" project near Jack London Square, the Kennedy Tract contains the only housing in Oakland with almost immediate access to the shore.

Various institutional uses also provide landmarks, and visual contrasts within Fruitvale. Notable examples include twin-towered St. Elizabeth's Church on 34th Avenue, a large chateau-like home for the aged just west of Wards, and the spacious grounds and very handsome new residence wing of Our Lady's Home on Foothill Boulevard.

Housing Styles. The principal housing styles in Fruitvale offer important clues to its visual character.

In most sections above East 14th, the dominant style of single-family house is the "California Bungalow" -- dating from somewhere between 1910 and 1940. This is typically a one-story house with a gable-to-the street, low-pitched roof and stucco, or occasionally clapboard, sides.

Other, generally earlier types predominate in some places near Fruitvale Avenue, as well as in the sections below East 14th. In some cases these are Victorians, in others what might be called "Neoclassic." (The latter is typically a two-story house with a "cubical" look from the street, clapboard siding, and a hipped roof.)

Apartment buildings also contribute to Fruitvale's visual character. Some of the pre-World War II ones have at least vaguely Spanish or Italian touches, such as tile roofs. The postwar ones are generally plainer and many well deserve the term "stucco box."

Housing Maintenance. Different sections of Fruitvale vary greatly in the apparent degree of housing

deterioration.

Below the BART line, deterioration is very common. It is probably very difficult for residents here to secure improvement loans -- for such reasons as low-incomes, industrial zoning, and nearness to factories, freeway, and railroads.

Between the BART line and East 14th, there seem to be somewhat fewer deteriorating structures.

Above East 14th deteriorating houses are still less frequent, although the ones that exist are scattered rather widely. All in all, however, much of this section seems to be in reasonably good condition.

East 14th Street. In Fruitvale the "endless" commercial strip of East 14th seems to peak and give a "sense of place." This is largely because of the huge landmark of Montgomery Ward, but also because of the two tall medical structures nearby and the old shopping district's several blocks of still-more-or-less continuous storefronts.

Much of the property in the old district is owned by absentee landlords, many of whom have shown little interest in maintenance. Those owners who are concerned have apparently had a difficult time securing the support of other owners for various improvement projects.

One specific visual problem along East 14th is posed by unsightly signs, especially billboards.

Immediate Station Environs. The physical environment right around the BART station does nothing to enhance the station. A railroad line sharply divides it from the blocks just below it. On the other side the station faces its own extensive parking lot which, given even greater prominence by East 12th Street curving around it, acts as a strong open space -- certainly the largest in Fruitvale.

However, the properties across East 12th completely fail to take advantage of the visual prominence given them by the BART construction. What one sees from the station are poorly maintained open areas, the ugly back sides of buildings, and the garish front sides of billboards. There is no clear and inviting connection with the nearby storefronts on East 14th.

PUBLIC FACILITIES

Fruitvale -- especially the section below the BART line -- is very deficient in park and recreation facilities. In a recent city-wide study the City Planning Department compared per capita investment in local park and recreation facilities for fourteen study areas roughly matching Oakland's junior high school attendance areas. The "Hamilton" area, which includes Fruitvale, ranked at the very bottom.

Sanborn Park is the only park within the study area. To make the situation worse, Sanborn has almost no active recreation facilities for Fruitvale's many young people. There are two mini-parks, designed for small children, next to the Nimitz Freeway at 26th and 29th Avenues -- but these are quite small, and hard to get to except from the neighboring few blocks. In fact, access is a general problem in the sections below East 14th. The freeway, railroad, and other barriers that cut across the Kennedy Tract make its shortage of recreation space even more serious by isolating residents from facilities in other parts of Fruitvale.

It should be added that the eastern portions of the Kennedy Tract contain no recreation facilities of any kind. The playground at Dewey School, which used to be available, has now been filled with portables.

School playgrounds of course provide some recreation space, though most of these are none too large and are, visually, rather barren and uninviting. Lazear Elementary School in particular has severe problems

due to its isolated location on a busy street, lack of room for expansion, and portable buildings. Lazear currently has up to 10 percent of its students in portable classrooms. Hawthorne Elementary School is seriously overcrowded, with over a quarter of its students in portables. Enrollment at Lazear has been decreasing sharply (from 439 in 1970 to 322 in 1973), while Hawthorne's enrollment has increased slightly during that period.

St. Elizabeth's Elementary and High School have recreation facilities which help to meet local recreation needs, but their availability and hours of operation are limited. For example, St. Elizabeth's High School has one of the best gymnasias in Oakland, but more supervisory staff would be needed to run extra programs at the gym.

Several special schools in Fruitvale serve a much broader area than the immediate neighborhood. Whitton School is for handicapped children, and Dewey is a continuation facility for high school students.

The Latin American-Fruitvale Branch Library is in rented quarters on Fruitvale Avenue near East 14th Street. However, the lease is expiring and a new location for this branch is being sought. The Latin American Center library which used to be the Coolbrith Branch, is located on Miller Street near East 15th, just outside the study area.

As for fire protection, there is a modern station located on Derby Avenue near East 12th.

CRIME

Another factor affecting any area's "image" is the local crime rate.

The overall Fruitvale crime rate has, in recent years, been substantially higher than the city-wide average.

Indeed crime is one of the major concerns of residents and merchants. Many potential customers may be afraid to shop on East 14th, especially after dark. At the BART station itself, there have been a number of thefts from parked cars -- a situation which may have deterred some commuters from coming here.

CIRCULATION

Trafficways and Railroads. As Map B shows, several major transportation lines cut across Fruitvale within a relatively short distance. These essentially parallel routes are the Nimitz Freeway, BART, East 14th Street, East 12th Street, San Leandro Street, and the Southern Pacific and Western Pacific railroad lines.

East 14th, East 12th, and San Leandro are considered "arterial streets," intended largely for through traffic. Other arterials in Fruitvale include Foothill Boulevard, Fruitvale Avenue, 35th Avenue, 42nd Avenue, High Street, the one-way couplet of Bancroft Avenue and Bond Street, and the portion of 29th Avenue below East 14th. As the map shows, some other routes are considered "collector streets," which are intended largely to channel traffic between arterials and minor streets. The remaining trafficways are considered "local streets," which are supposed to be mainly for access to the properties along them. As the map shows, the local street pattern is a real patchwork, with many awkward offsets and deadends. There are also some extremely long blocks which impair local circulation -- especially the two bounded by East 14th, Foothill, 37th, and 39th.

(Not shown on the map are several railroad spurs or branches, one of which runs from the main S.P. line down Fruitvale Avenue and across the Tidal Canal to serve Alameda.)

The most heavily travelled arterial in the area is East 14th Street; in 1972 (when the latest traffic

count was taken) it carried about 23,000 vehicles a day. Other arterials with high volumes included Fruitvale Avenue, which averaged 16,100 vehicles per day; 29th Avenue (south of East 14th), which carried about 15,600 vehicles a day, High Street which handled about 14,000 below San Leandro Street and 13,000 above East 14th; and San Leandro Street, which averaged about 11,300 near the BART station.

Traffic congestion occurs at the intersection of Fruitvale Avenue and East 14th Street during peak hours; and frequent mid-day back-ups, extending past Farnham Street, are experienced on Fruitvale Avenue. Moreover, Fruitvale Avenue in general is congested by peak-hour traffic flow.

(Although no systematic checks have been made since the national "energy crisis" began late in 1973, threatening reductions in automobile usage, it would seem that the congestion described above has by no means disappeared.)

Through traffic apparently invades some residential streets above East 14th. In particular, 34th carries a fairly high traffic volume: between 3,800 and 4,400 vehicles per day.

One special problem occurs near Fruitvale's intersections with East 12th and San Leandro Street which are offset from each other and separated by the Western Pacific tracks. Many motorists want to continue from one of these streets to the other. In addition to the difficulties caused by all the turning movements here, traffic on Fruitvale is frequently stopped for trains. The Western Pacific and Southern Pacific lines also cause frequent back-ups on 29th Avenue and High Street.

In the sections below the BART line the mixture of industrial and residential uses causes serious circulation problems. Trucks from many of the industries have to use minor residential streets, and this situation is annoying and even dangerous.

Parking. The old Fruitvale shopping district lies within a parking district with metered curb spaces and three public parking lots. It is interesting that two of these, on 36th and 37th Avenues just below East 14th, seem to be little used.

The station parking lot appears to have adequate capacity for the short run, although BART is considering middle-range proposals to provide additional spaces here.

Below the BART line, parking is a serious problem for many of the industries, and the double-parking of trucks on residential streets has created problems for people living in the Kennedy Tract.

Public Transit. BART's most recent projections indicate that in 1975, when trans-Bay service will be in effect, there will be some 16,700 trips daily to or from the Fruitvale station. If this forecast should be correct, Fruitvale would be one of the most heavily patronized stations in the East Bay. BART expects passengers will be mainly residents of Fruitvale's widespread "service area," which extends into the Oakland Hills.

Fruitvale is also served by various AC Transit bus lines. Very good through service is provided along East 14th, connecting the area to downtown Oakland, San Leandro, and (at present) San Francisco. However, these lines are rather inconvenient to the station, which is quite a walk below East 14th. Several cross-town lines do go down to the station, however. These include lines running up toward the Hills along 23rd, Fruitvale, 35th, and 38th Avenues and High Street. The lines along 23rd and High, after looping over to the station, return to those streets and continue down to provide feeder service to Alameda. Along the upper edge of the study area, through East Bay service is provided by several lines along Foothill Boulevard.

Transit service is far less adequate in the sections

below the BART line. In fact, as Map B shows, there is almost no service to the isolated housing pockets and large industrial employers here.

NEIGHBORHOOD CHARACTERISTICS BASED ON BLOCK DATA

For a fuller understanding of Fruitvale's residential sections, it is helpful to analyze the kinds of population and housing characteristics reported in the U. S. Census. Doing so reveals that there is a lot of variation within Fruitvale. The area consists of several different "neighborhoods," as that term was defined in Chapter 1.

Gruen Gruen + Associates delineated six such neighborhoods within Fruitvale, by analyzing the 1970 Census data available at the block level and then grouping those blocks with similar characteristics. Map C shows the boundaries of these neighborhoods. Table 3 presents key statistics on each, and these are briefly discussed in the next few paragraphs.

Probably the most revealing of all these figures are average rent per room and, for owner-occupied houses, average value per room. (Expressing these prices as "per room" avoids distortion due to varying unit sizes.) The price paid for a housing unit of a given size is directly related to the perceived "quality" of the structure and its environment.

Furthermore, as was explained in Chapter 1, low rent can often be a warning signal for housing undermaintenance. This is especially true in neighborhoods where the residents have low-incomes -- a factor which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Neighborhood "A." Of all Fruitvale neighborhoods in 1970, this one had the highest percentages both of renter-occupied units and of units in two-or-more-family structures. It also had the highest median rent per room and the highest median home value per room. (One reason why rents are higher here is prob-

ably that "A" contains many newer, more modern units.) In 1970 it also had the lowest percentage of population under 18, and the highest proportion of working-age (18-61) residents.

Neighborhood "B." Compared with "A," this neighborhood had relatively fewer two-or-more-family units and renter-occupied units, and rents and home values were lower here. The age structure of residents was similar to that in "A," but "B" had far fewer black residents -- in fact, the smallest percentage of any neighborhood in Fruitvale.

Neighborhood "C." In 1970 this neighborhood had the second highest percentages both of one-family units and of owner-occupied units. However, many of the one-family units were apparently being rented, and this may suggest some instability. Average value and rent per room were lower than in "A" or "B," while the percentage of young persons was much higher.

Neighborhood "D." The housing units here primarily renter-occupied, and were primarily in two-or-more-family structures. In 1970 average rent per room here was lower than in "A" or "B," and about the same as in "C," although it should be noted that the typical renter-occupied unit here was smaller than in any other neighborhood. Surprisingly, in average home value per room Neighborhood "D" was second only to "A."

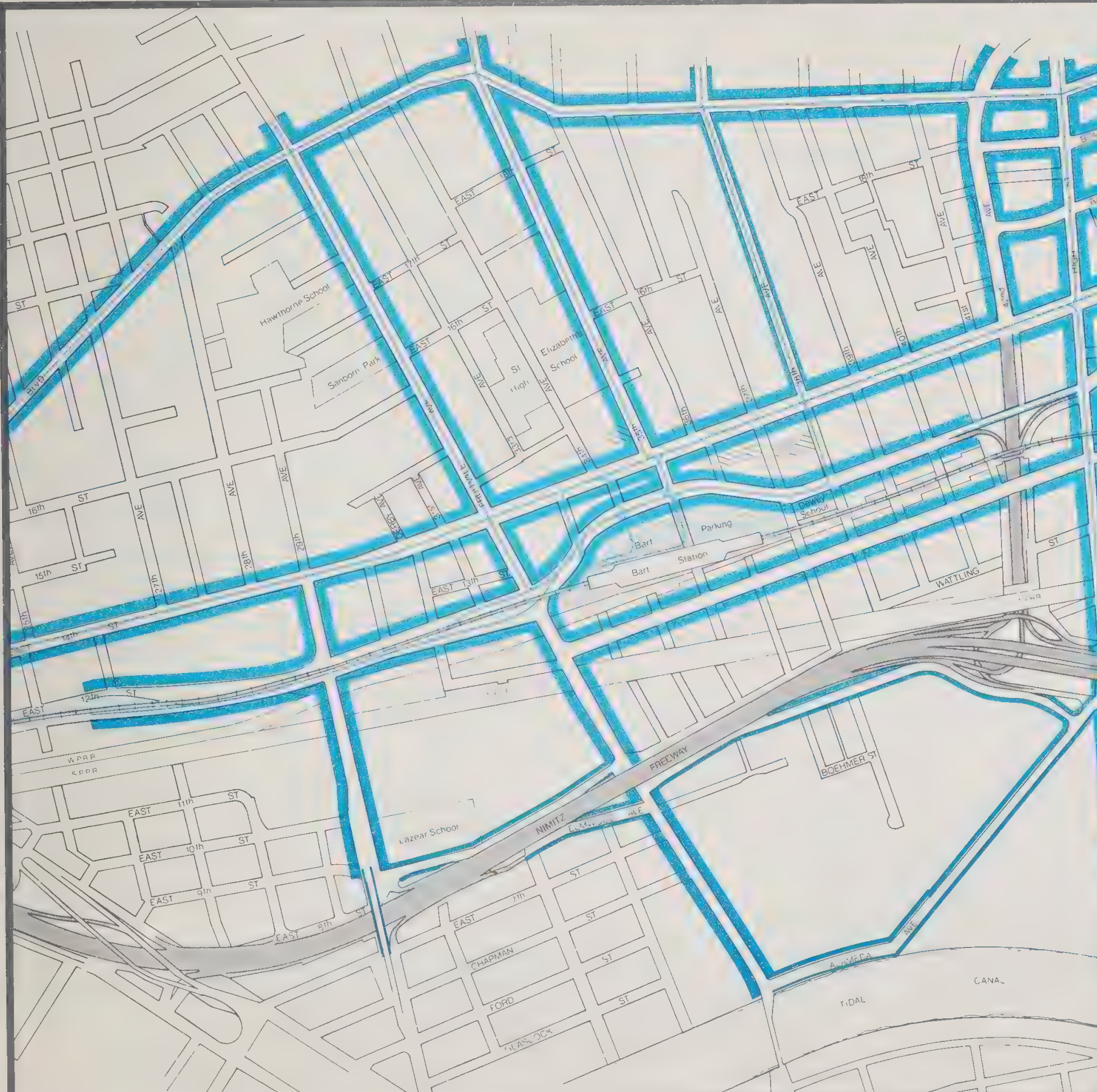
Neighborhood "E." This neighborhood had the third largest percentages both of one-family units and of owner-occupied units. However, it seems that many of the single-family units were being rented, and again this suggests some instability. Home values were the lowest of all six neighborhoods, and average rent per room was the second lowest. The population had a high percentage of youth and a low proportion of senior citizens. Of the six neighborhoods, "E" had the second highest percentage of black residents.

Neighborhood "F." Average rent per room here was easily

Map B

CIRCULATION SYSTEM 1973

- Freeway
- Arterial Street
- Collector Street
- Bus Route
- BART Line
- BART Parking
- Other Public Parking



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Map C

**Neighborhoods,
1973**



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Table 3

SELECTED POPULATION AND HOUSING DATA BY NEIGHBORHOOD:
FRUITVALE STUDY AREA, 1970

	Neighborhood					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Total Housing Units	1,508	655	974	301	208	170
Average Number of Housing Units per Block	137.0	59.5	57.2	23.2	16.0	18.9
Per Cent in One-Unit Structures ^a	22.2	30.6	48.9	26.2	43.8	52.4
Per Cent in Two-or-More-Unit Structures	77.7	69.3	51.0	73.7	56.3	47.6
Average Number of Occupied Units per Block	126.0	56.3	54.1	20.4	14.5	17.7
Per Cent Owner-Occupied	15.8	26.6	34.2	20.4	28.0	38.9
Per Cent Renter-Occupied	84.1	73.3	65.8	79.6	72.0	61.1
Median Home Value (\$) ^b	20,100	18,900	15,800	18,500	11,800	12,700
Median Home Value per Room (\$) ^b	3,760	3,530	3,050	3,700	2,400	2,670
Median Monthly Contract Rent (\$)	109.40	92.50	95.40	73.10	86.50	78.00
Median Monthly Contract Rent per Room (\$)	35.30	29.10	25.80	25.60	24.00	18.60
Average Rooms per Unit (Owner-Occupied)	5.35	5.34	5.17	5.01	5.02	4.79
Average Rooms per Unit (Renter-Occupied)	3.10	3.17	3.70	2.85	3.59	4.20
Per Cent Black (Owner-Occupied Units)	11.4	2.4	7.3	14.8	5.7	25.8
Per Cent Black (Renter-Occupied Units)	10.0	5.5	16.2	10.0	19.1	18.6
Total Population	3,162	1,402	2,549	624	634	628
Per Cent Black	13.4	6.8	14.9	17.1	22.4	25.8
Per Cent Under 18	21.9	23.0	32.0	25.5	37.4	45.9
Per Cent 62 or Over	20.3	22.6	15.8	20.5	11.0	13.4

Source: Gruen Gruen + Associates, Economic and Social Analysis of Three Oakland BART Station Areas: MacArthur, Rockridge, Fruitvale, based on block data from 1970 U.S. Census of Population and Housing.

a. Includes row, duplex, and similar units separated by a wall extending from ground to roof.

b. Only covers single-family houses with no other unit, or business, on same property.

the lowest of any neighborhood, although home values were a little higher than in "E." Interestingly, "F" outranked all other neighborhoods in the proportions both of one-family units (about 52 percent) and of owner-occupied units (39 per cent). The size of the gap between these two percentages indicates that many one-family houses were being rented. More than 45 percent of residents were under 18, by far the largest percentage for any Fruitvale neighborhood. "F" also had the highest proportion of black residents.

GENERAL SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGES

Further insights on Fruitvale and its residents can be obtained by evaluating the social and economic data reported by the large areas called "census tracts." Most of this information is in fact unavailable for the small census blocks which were used above to define "neighborhoods." The neighborhoods fall within the 1970 census tracts as follows:

1970 Census Tracts	Neighborhoods Within Tract
4062	A
4072	B, C
4061	D, E, F

Although Tract 4072 coincides exactly with Neighborhoods "B" and "C," the other two tracts contain sizable sections outside any of the neighborhoods. Thus 4061 extends northwest to 23rd Avenue, and 4062 reaches up to both 23rd Avenue and East 22nd Street.

Despite these boundary differences, the tract data are sometimes related to the neighborhoods in the following discussion. This obviously relies on the assumption that a neighborhood's characteristics do not vary significantly from those of the larger census tract containing it.

Also, in some cases general comparisons between 1960

and 1970 figures are made below.

Total Population and Ethnic Composition. The total population of the three tracts together declined slightly between 1960 and 1970, but this overall trend obscured interesting variations. Thus Tract 4062 registered a sizable 15.7 percent increase, Tract 4072 experienced a slight decrease of 2.6 percent, and Tract 4061 suffered a major drop of 27.8 percent. This major decrease below East 14th Street was associated with BART construction and probably some minor closing of houses or replacement by industry.

The same period saw substantial changes in racial composition. There were major increases in black population, especially above East 14th Street. For all three tracts combined, the size of the black resident population increased by 177.5 percent while the white population decreased by 20.1 percent. Moreover, the population of "all other races" (which covers oriental, American Indian, etc.) increased in all tracts, with an overall increase of 240 percent for the three tracts combined. However, in 1970 Fruitvale still had a higher percentage of white residents (70.4 percent) than did the city as a whole (59.1 percent).

Many of the white residents are of Spanish language or surname -- a factor which provides a very strong ethnic identification in Fruitvale. In fact, in 1970 all three tracts had a much higher percentage of persons of Spanish language or surname than did Oakland as a whole.

Moreover, many of the residents are Roman Catholic and belong to St. Elizabeth's parish. Because these residents see the Church as an important part of their lives, the church plays a key role in the functioning of Fruitvale's neighborhoods. Jesuit priests are now active in the area, working to improve the community.

Family and Age Characteristics. In 1970 all sections of Fruitvale were above the city-wide average in the

outside
Right
X

percentage of family households. This was particularly true for the tract below East 14th, where 64.5 percent of all households were families. All sections also exceed the city-wide figures for the percentages of families with children and for average children per family. Closely related to these household relationships are the age characteristics of the population. All of Fruitvale had a higher percentage of residents under 25 than did Oakland as a whole. There was an especially high proportion of young people in the neighborhoods below East 14th Street.

Mobility. The 1970 Census revealed for Fruitvale a fairly high degree of "mobility," as measured by the percentage of persons living in the same place as in 1965. However, this mobility was relatively lower in the tract below East 14th -- little more in fact than the city-wide figure. Many lower-income residents below East 14th may have stayed there because of difficulty in finding similarly low-priced housing elsewhere, or possibly (for owners) difficulty in selling their homes. Social ties based on ethnic and religious identification may also have served to keep people in Fruitvale -- as well as to attract to it new Spanish-speaking people coming into Oakland. In fact, the 1970 figures indicate that sizable numbers of residents had come into Neighborhoods "B," "C," "E," and "F" from foreign nations.

Incomes and Housing Expenditures. Fruitvale is not a high-income section of the city, as Table 4 shows. In 1969 all portions of the study area were below the median family income for Oakland as a whole. Family incomes were highest in Neighborhoods "B" and "C," followed not too closely by "A" and then the neighborhoods below East 14th. In contrast, the incomes of unrelated individuals were highest in "A" where there are many apartments. It is interesting that, between 1959 and 1969, the biggest increase in family incomes was in "B" and "C" -- though even there the increase fell short of the city-wide rate. Overall, Fruitvale "lost ground" substantially, declining from 90 percent of the city-wide median income in 1960 to 72 percent in 1970.

Table 4
MEDIAN INCOMES BY CENSUS TRACT:
FRUITVALE STUDY AREA, 1969

Census Tract	Neighborhoods Within Tract	Median Income (\$)		
		Families	Unrelated Individuals	Families and Unrelated Individuals
4062	A	6,815	3,513	5,405
4072	B,C	8,076	2,718	5,497
4061	D,E,F	6,170	2,151	4,331
Oakland City-Wide	-	9,626	3,303	6,787

Source: Gruen Gruen + Associates, Economic and Social Analysis of Three Oakland BART Station Areas: MacArthur, Rockridge, Fruitvale, based on 1970 U. S. Census of Population and Housing.

As for sources of income, in 1969 all three Fruitvale tracts showed relatively large percentages of families being at least partially dependent on welfare or social security payments. This was particularly true of the tract below East 14th. One inference is that many of these families could find it very difficult to pay more for housing maintenance, whether directly or (for tenants) indirectly through rent increases.

Interestingly, although many low-income households in 1969 were paying a very large proportion of their incomes for rent, Fruitvale residents generally paid a somewhat smaller proportion than did Oaklanders as a whole. This suggests that many people may be attracted to Fruitvale by low-housing costs. Because of generally

lower rents, a household can have a fairly low-income and yet a relatively low percentage of its income on housing. In 1969 this was especially true below East 14th. It appears that the low-price housing there is acceptable to a group of housing consumers, despite environmental problems.

Place of Work and Means of Transportation. Certain figures in the Census shed special light on BART's potential benefits to the kinds of people who now live in Fruitvale. In 1970 relatively few working residents (6.6 percent) had jobs in downtown Oakland or San Francisco, the employment centers toward which the BART system is most strongly oriented. Nearly half the jobs were in Oakland outside the Central Business District, while about a quarter were in other parts of Alameda or Contra Costa County; since the exact location of these jobs is not known it is difficult to speculate how many Fruitvale residents may be able to benefit by commuting on BART.

It is known that in 1970 somewhat fewer Fruitvale residents went to work by automobile, compared with Oaklanders in general, and somewhat more took public transit or walked. Interestingly a large portion (18.1 percent) of the workers living below East 14th walked -- many perhaps to industries in that area.

Chapter 3

Possible Types of Public Action

There are many kinds of public actions which might be carried out to alter the existing conditions, and economic forces, discussed in the last two chapters. An outline of the major types is offered below.

(The emphasis here is on the types of actions themselves rather than on specific existing programs through which they might be financed. Often, in fact, the necessary programs either do not exist yet or may be changed radically. Right now there is particular uncertainty about the future level and nature of Federal assistance programs.)

Actually, some public actions can serve to prevent change rather than promote it. The public actions appropriate for any area really depend on what goals are desired there -- and, accordingly, Chapter 5 will demonstrate how actions could be "packaged" to promote various goals.

The choice of public actions will also be influenced by the private economic forces with which they must interact.

In situations where the potential for achieving the desired goals already largely exists in the private market, only rather inexpensive public actions may be required. These might include minor improvements to stimulate the operation of market forces, or rezonings to simply permit their operation. In contrast, there

may be cases where the desired goals can be achieved only by drastic changes in existing conditions which radically change market demand. Very expensive public actions, such as large-scale redevelopment, would then be called for.

Another factor in selecting actions is the ability of public agencies to pay for them. The various governments which would probably be involved -- the City of Oakland, BART, AC Transit, and perhaps many others -- each have their own financial constraints. In particular the City is now facing a severe fiscal crisis, even with the current level of "general revenue sharing" money it is receiving from the Federal Government. The City is exploring all possible new revenue sources. Some help may come from the "special revenue sharing" proposals, now before Congress, which might provide money for such things as urban renewal, code enforcement, and new parks. Clearly, however, the City will be looking very closely at any proposals to spend more money -- and, of course, proposed expenditures in areas near the BART stations will have to compete with proposals for the rest of Oakland.

It should be added that many of the "public" actions described below (street tree planting, for example) could actually be done by private groups, individuals, or perhaps nonprofit corporations formed by property owners -- perhaps with public guidance and encourage-

ment. In fact this kind of approach could be very very appropriate, in light of the public financial problems just described.

CHANGES IN DEVELOPMENT REGULATIONS

There are various types of controls over the location, intensity, and design of different land uses. Some are even non-public, such as subdivision deed restrictions. Public controls include the Oakland Housing and Building Codes and several related laws; these however deal mostly with interior design and occupancy and technical construction details. The city's subdivision ordinance does regulate physical development on a broader scale, but in built-up areas like those around the BART stations zoning is far more important.

The City's "zoning ordinance," found in the Oakland Planning Code, already contains a wide range of zones -- each intended for use in a different general type of area. Table 5 shows the key differences among these. Some are "basic" zones (either residential, commercial, industrial, or special) and some are "combining" zones, which can be plotted over the basic ones to add various supplemental provisions.

How an area is "zoned" may be very different from how the area is actually developed. For example, many older houses near the Fruitvale station are in "industrial" zones which prohibit new dwellings.

Changes in zoning controls (or conceivably in other development regulations) could be designed either to make a given type of new construction move feasible or to discourage it. They might also be designed to ensure that development in an area is attractive or harmonious with its surroundings.

Zoning may even compel removal of existing billboards and other objectionable uses, although this approach has been rarely used in Oakland and there is controversy as to how much removal can legally be required,

and how quickly, and under what conditions. Zoning may also require an owner or developer to provide a reasonable amount of environmental improvements, such as street trees and a street-level plaza for a new office building.

However, zoning by itself cannot make new construction happen, in the absence of sufficient demand in the private market.

Rezonings. Whenever it is in the public interest, any area can be rezoned. The basic zone can be changed, and a combining zone may be added if necessary.

"Downzoning" and "upzoning," which can affect construction feasibility, should be defined here. A change which would allow fewer housing units (or less nonresidential floor space) on a lot of a given size would be a "downzoning" -- a rezoning from R-70 to R-50, for example. A change in the opposite direction would be an "upzoning."

Text Changes and Creation of New Zones. The text of existing zones, including the major provisions shown in Table 5, of course, can be changed. In this way, certain zones might be retailored to make them more usable in some areas near the BART stations. Relevant possibilities include:

1. Prohibiting or lowering the permitted density for apartment buildings on small individual lots, to discourage narrow "shoebox" projects and to provide an incentive for land assembly.
2. Reducing the minimum size for "planned unit development" density bonuses (now 60,000 square feet in most zones) to provide a further incentive for land assembly.
3. Improving the site standards for apartments by requiring, for example, increased side setbacks or more on-site recreation space.

Corrections:

1. Two-family dwellings are neither permitted nor conditionally permitted in R-30.
2. General Manufacturing is conditionally permitted in M-20.
3. S-6 Zone should have "b" footnote in "Residential: Spaces per D. U." column.

Table 5

KEY PROVISIONS OF ZONES IN OAKLAND PLANNING CODE, 1973

Permitted or Conditionally Permitted Uses^a

■ Permitted ■ Permitted If Conditional Use Permit Granted

See Planning Code text for special provisions along zone boundaries and for planned unit developments and home occupations, and other exceptions and supplemental regulations.

Provisions of combining zones supplement those of the basic zones they are mapped over.

Name of Zone		Permitted or Conditionally Permitted Uses ^a																						Removal of Existing Billboards	Special Ground-Floor Use Controls	Special Regulations on Open Parking and Storage	Maximum Size of Certain Commercial Establishments (Sq. Ft.)		Design Review	Minimum Size of New Residential Lot (Sq. Ft.)	Residential Density: One Dwelling Unit per Indicated Sq.Ft. of Lot Area		Maximum Height (in Feet and Stories) or Floor-Area Ratio (FAR)		Required Off-Street Parking ^a			Minimum Front Yard (Feet)			
		One-Family Dwelling	Two-Family Dwelling	Multi-Family Dwelling	Church	Public Office Building	Hospital	Doctors Office	Professional Office or Bank	Administrative Office	Business Service	Food or Convenience Sales	General Retail Sales	Gas Station	Auto Sales	Hotel or Motel	Research Service	Wholesaling	Custom Manufacturing	Light Manufacturing	General Manufacturing	Heavy Manufacturing	Mobile Home Park				Billboard	Food or Convenience Sales			Other	Construction or Alteration	Demolition	Regular Dwelling Unit	Efficiency Dwelling Unit	Residential	Nonresidential		Residential: Spaces per D.U. ^h	General Retail Sales: One Space per Indicated Sq. Ft. of Floor Area ⁱ	Administrative Office: One Space per Indicated Sq.Ft. of Floor Area ⁱ
RESIDENTIAL	R-10 ESTATE																									X			25,000	25,000	25,000	35' (2 St.)	b	2				25			
	R-20 LOW DENSITY																									X			12,000 ^b	12,000	12,000	35' (2 St.)	b	2				20			
	R-30 ONE-FAMILY																									X			5,000	5,000	5,000	35' (2 St.)	b	2				20			
	R-40 GARDEN APARTMENT																									X			5,000	2,500 ^c	2,500 ^c	35' (2 St.)	b	1.5				20			
	R-50 MEDIUM DENSITY																									X			4,000	1,500 ^d	1,500 ^d	35' (2 St.)	b	1				15			
	R-60 MEDIUM-HIGH DENSITY																									X			4,000	800 ^e	550 ^e	g	1.50 FAR ^e	1				10			
	R-70 HIGH DENSITY									b																X			4,000	450 ^f	300 ^f	g	2.25 FAR ^f	1				10			
	R-80 HIGH-RISE APARTMENT								b																	X	1,500		4,000	300 ^f	200 ^f	3.50 FAR ^f	3.50 FAR ^f	1				10			
	R-90 DOWNTOWN APARTMENT								b																	X	1,500		4,000	150 ^e	100 ^e	7.00 FAR ^e	7.00 FAR ^e	1				10			
COMMERCIAL	C-10 LOCAL RETAIL																									X	5,000	5,000		4,000	1,500 ^d	1,500 ^d	45' (3 St.)	45' (3 St.)	1	600					
	C-20 SHOPPING CENTER																									X			4,000	1,500 ^d	1,500 ^d	45' (3 St.)	45' (3 St.)	1	400	600					
	C-25 OFFICE																									X	3,000		4,000	450 ^f	300 ^f	g	2.00 FAR ^f	1		600	600	10			
	C-30 DISTRICT THOROUGHFARE																									X			4,000	450 ^f	300 ^f	g	45' (3 St.)	1	400	600					
	C-35 DISTRICT SHOPPING																									X			4,000	450 ^f	300 ^f		3.00 FAR ^f	1	600	900					
	C-36 BOULEVARD SERVICE																								X			4,000	800 ^e	550 ^e		2.50 FAR ^e	1	400	600	b					
	C-40 COMMUNITY THOROUGHFARE																									X			4,000	450 ^f	300 ^f		3.00 FAR ^f	1	400	600					
	C-45 COMMUNITY SHOPPING																									X			4,000	300 ^f	200 ^f	4.00 FAR ^f	4.00 FAR ^f	1	900	1,400					
	C-51 CENTRAL BUSINESS SERVICE																									X			4,000	150 ^e	100 ^e	7.00 FAR ^e	7.00 FAR ^e	1	900	1,400					
C-55 CENTRAL CORE																									X			4,000	150 ^e	100 ^e	7.00 FAR ^e		1	No Req	No Req						
C-60 CITY SERVICE																											3,000														
INDUS-TRIAL	M-10 SPECIAL																									X			3,000					0.50 FAR					10		
	M-20 LIGHT																									X			3,000				45' (3 St.)					5			
	M-30 GENERAL																											3,000													
	M-40 HEAVY																											3,000													
SPE-CIAL	S-1 MEDICAL CENTER																									X	3,000	3,000	X	4,000	300 ^f	200 ^f	4.00 FAR ^f	4.00 FAR ^f	1		600		10		
	S-2 CIVIC CENTER																									X			4,000	300 ^f	200 ^f	3.50 FAR ^f	3.50 FAR ^f	1	900	1,400		10			
	S-3 RESEARCH CENTER																									X							0.50 FAR					50			
COMBINING	S-4 DESIGN REVIEW																																								
	S-5 TRAVEL ACCOMMODATION																																								
	S-6 MOBILE HOME PARK																								X						b	b	b					b			
	S-7 PRESERVATION																										X	X													
	S-8 URBAN STREET																							X	X																
	S-9 RETAIL FRONTAGE																								X																
	S-10 SCENIC ROUTE																								b			X													

- a. See text for unlisted uses.
- b. See text for details or exceptions.
- c. Total of two units allowed on existing 4,000 sq. ft. lot. For senior citizen housing, density may be increased up to 75% if use permit granted.
- d. Maximum one unit on existing lot smaller than 4,000 sq. ft. For other lots, see text for varia-

- tions from 1/1,500 density ratio, depending on lot size. For senior citizen housing, density may be increased up to 75% if use permit granted.
- e. Permitted density and FAR are 10% higher on corner lot; 10% on lot facing park. For senior citizen housing, density may be increased up to 75% if use

- permit granted.
- f. Permitted density and FAR are 10% higher on corner lot; 10% on lot facing park. Density and FAR may be up to 50% more for high-rise housing, 75% for any senior citizen housing, if use permit granted.
- g. Portions above 40 feet must be set back farther on some sides.
- h. Requirement is 25% less within

- 600 feet of center of BART station; may be reduced as much as 75% for senior citizen housing anywhere with use permit.
- i. None required if total non-residential floor area on lot under 3,000 sq. ft. (10,000 in C-45, C-51, S-2). See text for existing buildings and uses in parking districts.

4. Requiring a conditional use permit for large apartment projects in R-60 and R-70, thereby ensuring a public hearing on each project and a chance for the neighborhood to object or suggest changes.
5. Prohibiting high-rise buildings in R-60, and possibly in R-70 and some commercial zones, or at least requiring use permit review for them.
6. Reducing the permitted housing density in C-30 and some other commercial zones.
7. Prohibiting billboards and generally improving the sign controls in various commercial zones, with mandatory removal of the most objectionable existing ones.
8. Improving the controls on open land uses, and even requiring landscaping or screening for existing ones, in some commercial and industrial zones.
9. Requiring all new developments to provide a specified number of street trees.
10. Not requiring parking for nonresidential buildings near BART stations.

(Also, wherever there are requirements for a use permit or design review, these could be backed up by special administrative guidelines to promote visual harmony with neighborhood character.)

It is even quite possible to create an entirely new zone where an area has sufficiently distinct needs. For example, an "S-11 Industrial Transition Combining Zone" -- prescribing review and high standards for all industries -- has been proposed recently for areas with mixtures of industry and old houses.

REDEVELOPMENT

Although the term "redevelopment" can have broader

meanings, it is used here to refer to those public actions which involve the acquisition of land and demolition of any existing structures for the purpose of putting the land to a new use.

The California Community Redevelopment Law authorizes a redevelopment agency within a city-designated project area to acquire property for sale to developers. The project area itself, however, must be blighted or deteriorating. (Federal financial programs for redevelopment have even more elaborate requirements.) Relocation payments and assistance must be given to those residents and businessmen who are displaced -- or in some cases, replacement housing must be provided.

A redevelopment project can enhance the operation of market forces in two direct ways (in addition to indirectly stimulating investment on nearby properties). First, it may allow sale of land to a developer for less than it cost. Second, even if there is no such "writedown," redevelopment can apply the public power of eminent domain to compel the sale of property. This can be quite important where it is necessary to assemble many small lots.

In some favorable market situations, it is conceivable that no writedown might be needed and even the public "land assembly" function might be minimal. A rebuilding plan might be drawn up and private developers could then proceed to acquire land directly, with the public playing a back-up role ready to deal with occasional hold-outs.

A way of paying for related capital improvements is through "tax increments." The California Community Redevelopment Law allows a city to earmark the entire increase in property taxes in an urban renewal area for project costs. This approach may be promising in some situations near BART stations where assessment increases can be expected.

CONSERVATION AND REHABILITATION OF EXISTING STRUCTURES

In contrast to redevelopment, there are other kinds of public actions which seek to preserve or upgrade existing structures.

Code Enforcement. Relevant health and safety codes include the Oakland Housing, Building, and Fire Codes and various related County and State laws. Enforcement of such codes is done largely by the City's Building and Housing Department, the Fire Department, and the County Health Department.

The approach typically used in Oakland divides the city into districts to which individual inspectors are regularly assigned. Within these extensive districts, enforcement is now done mostly on a spot basis as violations are noticed by the inspectors or reported by residents or others.

Another procedure is "pre-sale inspection," although this presently has a limited impact since it only applies where a sale involves certain types of financing.

A more comprehensive approach is "concentrated code enforcement," which involves door-to-door inspection of an entire area's residential buildings. So far, efforts of this type have been done without Federally Assisted Code Enforcement (FACE) funds.

All these forms of code enforcement are presently limited as to how much quality improvement they can produce. Under existing code provisions, many older houses can be required only to meet those code standards which existed when they were built. Besides, little can be done sometimes about poor exterior maintenance -- such highly visible things as peeling paint or weathered clapboards -- as long as a dwelling is structurally safe and keeps the elements out. Also, in general, much less can be done about poorly maintained commercial properties than about housing.

Nevertheless, when a residential building is in serious

violation of codes, and when the owner cannot or will not make the required repairs, the structure must be demolished at his expense. Although the City provides relocation referral services to the former occupants, no relocation payments are made. (Such payments would be required under FACE.)

Aside from demolitions, code enforcement has more subtle displacement effects which can be especially important in lower-income areas. Many homeowners have difficulty paying for improvements, and may even have to sell their house at a disadvantage and move. Furthermore, many owners of rental property may seek to recover the costs by raising rents, and their low-income tenants may be forced out. Possible actions designed to provide rehabilitation assistance, and prevent such displacement, are discussed later under "Financial Assistance Programs."

Rehabilitation Through Urban Renewal. Although code enforcement, too, causes "rehabilitation," this term is sometimes used in a more limited sense to refer to the kind of upgrading of structures done in one kind of urban renewal project. Such a project may have its own rehabilitation standards, which can be more restrictive than general City codes and require major improvements in exterior appearance.

Just as with an urban renewal project of the "redevelopment" type, the project area must meet certain criteria; it may or may not involve Federal financial assistance; and "tax increment" funding can be used. The Redevelopment Agency may acquire some properties, cause them to be rehabilitated, and then resell them. Sometimes a structure cannot be saved, and the Agency may have to clear and resell the property. In any case relocation payments must be made to the occupants of demolished structures (and in some cases replacement housing may have to be provided).

Again, this kind of rehabilitation can also displace people more indirectly -- because of the cost of rehabilitation or rent increases -- unless there are adequate assistance programs.

Other Rehabilitation Actions. Some Federal programs have provided money for:

1. Renovation of existing public housing ("public housing modernization").
2. Renovation of existing privately owned structures for use as public housing ("turnkey rehabilitation").
3. Renovation for moderate-income housing.

Aside from governmental programs, upgrading might in some cases be pursued on a voluntary, cooperative basis. For example, a neighborhood or a merchants' association might sponsor a "clean up, fix up" campaign.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPROVEMENTS

"Environmental improvements" are those public actions which make an area's general environment (as opposed to individual structures) more livable and attractive, or at least serve to offset negative factors affecting the environment. In market terms, such improvements tend to increase sales prices and rents for private properties in the area.

One way of paying for some of these improvements might be through "tax increments," as discussed earlier -- although this would obviously work best in situations where significant new private investment is both feasible and desired by the community. Another general approach would be to form a special assessment district.

Park and Recreation Improvements. New parks or recreation areas, of various types and sizes, might be provided.

Although clearing built-up land for these can be very expensive, some kinds of situations do present opportunities for reducing this cost. These include:

1. Leftover pieces of land along freeways or street widening.
2. Land along creeks -- especially where flood control work is being undertaken by the Alameda County Flood Control District, which is authorized to build incidental recreation facilities itself as well as to cooperate with other agencies in multi-purpose projects.
3. Appropriately located vacant or underused lots.
4. Houses being demolished because of code enforcement.
5. Large new developments, where a plaza or other open space might be provided either at the developer's expense as a condition of approval or partly at public expense under a "joint development" approach.
6. Street closings or narrowings, as discussed below.

In addition, existing parks or recreation areas, might be redesigned to be more attractive or to permit new recreation activities.

Some money for local park and recreation facilities could become available from the 1974 bond issue proposed by the Z'berg-Collier Act. However, this could not be used for staffing, which is something that must also be considered. New parks obviously need people to maintain them. If the level of local recreation programs were intensified, still more staff would be needed.

Street Closings or Restrictions. In some places it may be desirable, for environmental reasons, to reduce accessibility. There are various ways to discourage through, or fast, traffic from invading streets where it would be unwelcome. Among these are:

1. Full street closure in the middle of a residential block, with a small play area on the closed-off portion and possibly with diagonal parking on the remainder to make up for the lost curb spaces.
2. Traffic diverters diagonally crossing the intersections of local streets.
3. Full closure of a residential side street where it joins a major street with a small plaza on the closed-off portion.
4. Semi-closure of a side street exit or entry only, not both where it joins a major street, again with a small plaza or landscaped area.
5. Sidewalk widenings (sometimes called curb extensions or "chokers") at corners.
6. Frequent stop signs or other traffic restrictions.

Money from the city's gas tax fund might be used for at least some of these. However, any such improvements would need to follow detailed study of their likely traffic effects.

Beautification and Other Street Work. Street trees (or other planting) could be concentrated along major routes, or they might be distributed throughout an entire area. Street trees can make a big difference, visually, in almost any situation, yet they usually cost surprisingly little. Because of this, planting can often be done by individuals or local groups.

Other "beautification" improvements include such things as special sidewalk treatment, small plazas and benches. These improvements are especially appropriate to commercial streets.

Undergrounding of utility lines -- still another form of "beautification" -- tends to be quite expensive. Furthermore, removing the utility poles often means that new street lights have to be provided.

(Aside from this tie-in with utility undergrounding, new street lights may be desirable for other reasons in some poorly-lit areas.) The utility companies themselves must pay for a few miles of undergrounding in Oakland each year, although this is usually limited to major streets. Where new electroliers are required, the City can install them or it can lease them from the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. (Another approach, of course, would be an assessment district.) New utility connections on private property must be paid for by the property owners.

Another kind of street work, which might be needed in some areas, would be the replacement of curbs and gutters.

Buffering. Buffering devices such as planting, walls, or special noise baffles might be installed at various locations. These could be especially desirable along freeways or railroads, or to separate mutually incompatible land uses. It is interesting, although this is no guarantee of funding, that State law now authorizes the California Department of Transportation to install noise suppression devices along existing freeways.

Improvements to Other Public Facilities. Also important to the local environment are such diverse facilities as branch libraries, flood control devices, and of course schools.

The agencies responsible for improvements to these facilities, and the means of financing them, are equally diverse. However, one concept should be mentioned which might save money on building new facilities of these types. This is the idea of "joint development," in which a private developer and/or one or more public agencies would share a single site and reduce the costs for each -- through use of "air-rights," for example.

Crime Prevention Actions. In economic terms, crime prevention is like the more physical "environmental

improvements" which were outlined above. To residents, the crime rate is a critical part of the total neighborhood environment -- and potential investors view it just the same way.

Although crime rates and solutions to crime depend largely on changes in the broader society, some things can be done at the neighborhood level. Examples include assigning more police patrols to high-crime areas, conducting educational efforts like Oakland's "Home Alert" and "Merchants Alert" programs, and generally making efforts to improve police-community relations.

ACCESS IMPROVEMENTS

Several kinds of public actions are possible which would increase an area's accessibility, and hence tend to stimulate private investment.

Trafficway Capacity Improvements. One possible approach would be to increase the capacity and convenience of the trafficways that serve the area. Important streets could be widened, and new streets could be created where the local pattern is awkward or obsolete. Also, freeway ramps might be redesigned to provide better local connections. Traditionally, such expensive improvements have been made by the City or State with money from the Gas Tax Fund, but this money is becoming scarce.

Traffic capacity could often be increased at much less expense by means of improved traffic controls, such as synchronized traffic lights or special channelization at critical intersections. Capacity might also be increased by prohibiting curb parking, at least during rush hours, although this could cause hardships where off-street parking is unavailable.

Provision of Off-Street Parking. In Oakland public off-street parking has usually been provided through

some form of special district, whereby the revenues from curb meters are used to pay off bonds issued to finance a new off-street facility. This approach could be continued in areas near the BART station. Also, of course, BART itself is thinking of adding to the parking capacity at some of its stations.

In some cases, incorporating some private air rights development over the parking might be desirable. The feasibility of this would probably depend, though, on whether surrounding land values were high enough to make this worthwhile for a private developer.

Improved Transit Service. Especially in areas near BART stations, it could be more appropriate to improve public transit rather than encourage the movement and storage of more automobiles.

One way to do this would be to increase the frequency of service on regular bus routes, especially the "feeder" lines which go right by the BART station. A different approach would be a special "shuttle" line which would run back and forth between the station and nearby employment, shopping, or apartment concentrations. It might even be possible to provide free shuttle service, with at least part of the cost being met through an assessment district or contributed directly by those major developments which benefit from the service. (Of course reducing or eliminating transit fares in general would also help, although this would raise serious funding questions.)

Provision of Bikeways and Pedestrianways. Interest has been growing in the provision of special facilities for bicyclists and pedestrians. For example, special bicycle lanes could be marked, as has been done on various streets in Berkeley. Some special pedestrianways might be provided through widening and attractive redesign of existing sidewalks. Other bikeways or trails might cut across blocks, through parks, or along creeks.

Gas tax money could generally be used for such im-

provements as long as they were within a street right-of-way.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

There are many possible actions which could offer various types of financial assistance. Most of these would have the economic effect of enhancing incomes in some way or other. That is, they would serve to maintain or increase the incomes of residents or other persons -- either directly, or by increasing their earning capacity, or by providing housing or other services at reduced cost.

While some of these actions would need to operate at a city-wide or even national level, others could be focused on specific areas near the BART stations.

Obviously, these actions would be pursued for a variety of reasons, including matters of broad national policy. At the same time, they could help achieve the more limited kinds of goals which this report deals with. In particular, many of them could help prevent low-and moderate-income residents or merchants near the BART stations from being displaced by rehabilitation efforts or rent increases.

Housing Rehabilitation Assistance. Certain Federal programs have offered rehabilitation assistance to property owners in FACE and urban renewal areas. This has been in the forms of grants for low-income homeowners, reduced interest rates for loans, and technical assistance.

Various other approaches to rehabilitation assistance are possible. One which is now being tried in a lower-income section of East Oakland involves the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and Neighborhood Housing Service. and features a loan guarantee fund to encourage lending institutions to finance property owners there. Another concept might be for the City to administer its own rehabilitation loan fund, perhaps using the proceeds from tax-exempt bonds.

Still another approach might involve modifying existing taxation and assessment procedures so as to encourage rehabilitation -- or at least not penalize it. It has been argued, for example, that present assessment procedure discourages improvements in existing structures. Doing much in this direction, though, would require constitutional or statutory changes at the State level.

There has been less discussion of the problems of tenants who may be displaced because of rent increases triggered by rehabilitation. Rent controls would be one drastic approach, but there are other possibilities which are discussed below.

Provision of Publicly Assisted Housing. The term "publicly assisted housing" includes both:

1. "Turnkey public housing" and other publicly provided units which are owned or leased by local governments and made available, at low-rents, to low-income people.
2. "236" and other publicly subsidized units which are privately owned but are built with the assistance of either direct loans or substantial mortgage-interest subsidies, and which generally serve moderate-income persons.

(In certain of these moderate-income projects, Federal "rent supplements," may be used to allow some of the units to be rented to low-income households.)

Depending partly on which specific Federal program is used, publicly assisted housing may be either for families or for the elderly. Housing may be in the form of new units, or in some cases they may involve renovation of existing ones. Project sizes may vary greatly -- and this factor can be quite significant in terms of neighborhood impact. Sometimes even one-unit projects are possible. In fact the "235" moderate-income programs are designed to encourage homeownership, and these offer not just financial assistance but also

give first-time buyers counseling on how to purchase and maintain a home.

The provision of new publicly assisted housing within an area could be relevant in several ways to the kinds of issues this report deals with. It could offer nearby replacement units for people displaced by public redevelopment or rehabilitation actions or by private development. If it is well designed and maintained, it could serve to improve an old neighborhood's appearance. It might also give owners of old houses in the neighborhood some encouragement to maintain their own properties better.

Housing Allowances. Another way of helping renters (or homeowners) could be the concept of "housing allowances" which the Federal Government is now experimenting with in some cities. This might provide direct payments to lower-income households, who could use the money to find housing, either public or private, wherever they chose.

General Income-Enhancement Actions. The incomes of residents can be raised, of course, by such direct approaches as welfare and social security -- not to mention the "negative income tax" and other new concepts which are now being explored nationally.

Somewhat less direct would be those types of actions which seek to increase residents' earning ability. These could include improvements in general education, and economic development activities which can help create jobs. Other actions include job training, job placement activities, and transportation improvements which help neighborhood residents get to outlying job opportunities. Child-care programs can also increase the earning ability of some families, by enabling mothers to work. In areas with many residents who cannot speak English well, language programs can help increase their chances of finding employment.

Finally, various public actions can serve to stretch out residents' incomes with services or facilities at

reduced cost. Examples include neighborhood health and legal services.

Actions to Assist Businesses. Various actions could be taken to assist businesses near BART stations. For example, the City might provide technical assistance to a local merchants' organization for promotional and other "self-help" activities. The Federal Small Business Administration already has a general program providing loans to qualifying firms. The Economic Development Administration can make loans or even grants to strategic projects which would stimulate economic conditions.

Other public, cooperative, or joint public-private programs might be developed to provide "seed money" and other assistance specifically for areas near BART stations.

Medical-Facility Subsidies. Finally, there are various public actions which could subsidize medical facilities. (These are of special interest because such facilities are important users of land near some BART stations.) In particular, Federal grants and loan guarantees are available, through the State Department of Public Health, for construction or expansion of hospital and other nonprofit medical facilities. Applications for these are presently reviewed by the Bay Area Comprehensive Health Planning Council, which considers such factors as appropriateness of location.

Chapter 4

Current Outlook

This chapter forecasts what is likely to happen in Fruitvale, after BART impact, under the current outlook.

When the BART impact period will begin cannot be pinpointed. The effects discussed here are those which will occur after the economic impact of BART becomes fully recognized and the market reacts accordingly. The period "after BART impact" will be preceded by an interim period during which the market near the Fruitvale station may be tested by some "pioneer" investors.

The "current outlook" assumes that no major public actions, such as large-scale rezoning, will be undertaken to alter the course of events which would otherwise occur.

The following sections will discuss:

1. the general economic outlook in Fruitvale, with emphasis on how BART will affect this;
2. existing zoning, which to some extent will constrain operation of the economic forces;
3. the likely pattern of private-market new construction;
4. the physical and socioeconomic effects, in general, which will probably occur in Fruitvale.

GENERAL ECONOMIC OUTLOOK

For the most part, BART service by itself will not significantly increase the demand for residential, commercial, or industrial space in Fruitvale. This is largely due to the existing physical and socioeconomic problems in the area. On the other hand, Fruitvale's impact on BART could be significant--that is, patronage at the Fruitvale station could suffer if conditions in that vicinity worsen.

Housing Outlook. BART will reduce travel time between Fruitvale and such locations as downtown San Francisco and Oakland. However, as we saw in Chapter 2, relatively few Fruitvale residents now work in those places. Similarly, the kind of new residents who will tend to live in Fruitvale in the future will generally not use BART to any major extent. This situation will reduce BART's impact on local housing prices.

In general, housing demand in Fruitvale will be adversely affected by local crime rates and by the deteriorating physical conditions in the sections below East 14th. However, the relatively attractive environment in the sections above East 14th will create some potential for new housing there.

Commercial Outlook. BART will create some potential demand for convenience-type commercial space along East 12th Street across from the station, because this frontage will benefit from exposure to many commuters--

including higher-income ones from the Oakland hills and Alameda. However, this potential may be limited by the local environmental problems.

As for the section of East 14th right near the station, BART's impact will be limited because, as Chapter 2 emphasized, this area is no longer the major shopping district it once was. Establishments here will tend to be fairly small, and to be oriented toward the local neighborhoods.

The strongest portion of East 14th Street will continue to be that around Wards and the adjacent medical facilities and offices. However, these are a long walk from the station, and feeder bus service to them is presently rather inconvenient.

Industrial Outlook. Theoretically, BART might be expected to enhance industrial demand by making it easier for workers to get to nearby locations. However, many of the industries in Fruitvale do not employ great numbers of workers. Most of those which do have large payrolls are beyond walking distance from the station, and there is almost no convenient feeder bus service to them.

The physical environment in Fruitvale is likely to have a much more important effect on industrial demand than BART will. For a new industry looking for a site, there are many alternative--and possibly much more attractive--locations outside Fruitvale.

Analysis and interviews with industrialists (by Gruen Gruen + Associates) suggest that there will not be a great demand for space by new industries moving into Fruitvale. However, some existing industries will seek space to expand or remodel. In general, the future level of industrial demand in Fruitvale will depend on the degree of compatibility between industry and the housing which will remain in the sections below East 14th. If the problems of the residential areas persist and worsen, as they probably will under the current outlook, the industries will suffer too.

EXISTING ZONING

Map D illustrates the existing basic zoning pattern in Fruitvale, as of the end of 1973. (It is included to show the general pattern, and is not an official zoning map.) Essentially, everything below East 14th Street is zoned industrial, the properties along East 14th are zoned commercial, and nearly all of the area above East 14th is in high-density residential zones. (In addition to this basic zoning, the S-5 Travel Accommodation Combining Zone is mapped on Foothill Boulevard along the upper edge of the study area.)

However, this simple zoning pattern is quite different from the actual existing land use pattern. Obviously, the industrial zoning below East 14th fails to reflect the extensive pockets of housing there. Above East 14th, residential zoning is generally of a far higher density than the existing housing.

Fruitvale's present zoning also fails to distinguish between the area's widely differing nonresidential sections. All of the rather distinct portions of East 14th are treated alike, and bracketed under the C-40 Community Thoroughfare Commercial Zone. All of the industrial areas below East 14th are presently in either M-30 or M-40--both of them quite unrestricted industrial zones--regardless of location or proximity to existing housing.

(As of this writing the City is considering a rezoning proposal along the southwestern edge of Fruitvale, including the housing cluster generally bounded by 25th and 29th Avenues, the freeway, and East 11th Street just outside the study area. This proposal would rezone at least some of the housing there to the R-40 Garden Apartment Residential Zone, and map the M-20 Light Industrial Zone on adjacent blocks to serve as a protective buffer.)

Map D

Basic Zoning 1973



2031

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NEW PRIVATE-MARKET CONSTRUCTION

Table 6 shows the major types of new private-market construction which are allowable and will probably be feasible in each section of Fruitvale, after BART impact, under the existing zoning. (Single-family detached houses are not shown because these will generally not be built, except perhaps by some private owners of vacant lots.)

Consultants Gruen Gruen + Associates based these forecasts on a rather complex analysis of several factors, including the site costs and obtainable rents in each section of Fruitvale and the level of construction costs in Oakland.

The results in the table are only a generalization of the Gruens' more detailed conclusions. In many cases, for example, construction may be feasible only for some types of construction or sizes of dwelling units. The reader should refer to the Gruens report for these details and exceptions. The table here indicates feasibility where many or most types would be possible. It does, however, distinguish between construction on average-cost sites and lowest-cost sites. The latter may include such things as vacant lots, obviously underutilized sites, or dilapidated properties.

As the table's second footnote indicates, construction may be feasible in some additional cases if a conditional use permit is granted under the density bonus provisions mentioned under Table 5 on page 29. These would make a difference mainly for senior citizen housing.

Two further caveats are necessary. First, the table and the analysis on which it is based deal only with feasibility for the "typical" investor -- that is, one who invests to obtain a certain rate of return on his investment. For some individual developers, owners, or investors, other factors could be very important in determining "feasibility." One's tax bracket and attitude toward risk may enhance the desirability of

certain projects. For example, in a case where the sum of depreciation and loan interest exceeds the net income from the property in a particular year, the resulting tax shelter may be advantageous to certain high-bracket taxpayers. Table 6 does not necessarily apply to this type of investor.

Secondly, the table deals only with "incremental" development. That is, it assumes that no private project will be undertaken in Fruitvale that would be of sufficient scale and impact by itself to significantly change the demand for space in an area. Such an effect might be possible if a developer could assemble a large enough site to create its own special "environment" and therefore command much higher rents and such a project might then tend to increase demand for other property nearby. However, a private developer is unlikely to build a project for a very different market than the typical one in an area unless the types of new public actions are undertaken that would change the area significantly. A developer, even a large and well-capitalized one, would be better off in responding to the presently foreseeable demand for space in the neighborhood, rather than seeking to totally change the demand picture. This is especially so because it is difficult, time-consuming, and expensive for a private developer by himself to assemble small lots to create a big enough site to have this kind of impact.

The general outlook for private-market construction in Fruitvale is:

1. At least some new private-market wood frame apartments, of medium-high or high density, are likely to be built in the sections above East 14th Street.
2. High-rise apartment construction generally will not be feasible.
3. New housing will not be built in the sections below East 14th Street, partly because such construction is prohibited by the existing

Table 6

FEASIBILITY^a OF MAJOR TYPES OF PRIVATE-MARKET NEW CONSTRUCTION
BY SUBAREA UNDER EXISTING ZONING: FRUITVALE STUDY AREA AFTER
BART IMPACT

<u>Subarea</u>	<u>Major Existing Zone</u>	<u>Wood Frame Apartments^b</u>		<u>High-Rise Apartments^{b,c}</u>		<u>Retail or Office Facilities</u>		<u>Industrial Facilities</u>
		<u>On Lowest- Cost Sites</u>	<u>On Average- Cost Sites</u>	<u>On Lowest- Cost Sites</u>	<u>On Average- Cost Sites</u>	<u>On Lowest- Cost Sites</u>	<u>On Average- Cost Sites</u>	
Neighborhoods A, B, and C	R-70 or R-80	X	X					
Neighborhoods D, E, and F	M-30 or M-40							X
East 12th Street Across from the Station	M-30							
Fruitvale Avenue	C-30	X	X					
East 14th Street West of Fruitvale Avenue	C-40					X		
East 14th Street East of Fruitvale Avenue	C-40							

a. "X" indicates a situation where construction will be feasible for at least many, or most, common types of the indicated category. A blank indicates where, probably, few or no types will be feasible.

b. Housing--especially senior citizen housing--may become feasible in some additional cases if a conditional use permit is granted under the density bonus provisions mentioned in Table 5.

c. "High-rise" refers to construction generally found only in buildings with more than four stories.

industrial zoning in those sections.

4. There is little potential for new retail and office construction, at least until land costs in the area drop. (In general land costs are presently out of line with forecasts of what rents may be obtained in new buildings.) However, there will be some cases, at least along part of East 14th, where small-scale construction may occur on vacant or other low-cost sites. This might include such things as small convenience shops or eating places, car washes, gas stations, or doctors' offices. Along East 12th Street across from the station, despite the potential demand generated by BART patrons, the environmental problems may make new construction infeasible in the absence of public actions to deal with these problems.
5. In the sections below East 14th, at least some industrial construction will probably be feasible.

If the present industrial zoning in Neighborhood D were changed to a zone which allows housing at R-60 or higher densities, at least some wood frame apartments would be feasible there. In Neighborhoods E and F, on the other hand, new housing would probably remain infeasible regardless of zone.

It is very difficult to forecast the amount of new construction likely in Fruitvale. However, it is possible that as many as 250 or 300 units of private-market multi-family housing will be built in the sections about East 14th Street during the first decade after BART impact.

During the same period there will probably be very little new retail or office construction. It is likely that only a relatively minor amount of industrial space will be built.

EFFECTS IN GENERAL

Table 7 outlines the direction and general scale of the major effects likely to occur in Fruitvale during the first decade after BART impact. (The housing-price, income, assessment, and public-expenditure changes described in the table do not attempt to reflect general increases which may occur because of inflation.)

Most of these effects are described in terms of four major subareas, some of which include several of the neighborhoods identified earlier. These subareas are:

1. "Neighborhoods A, B, and C."
2. "East 14th Street."
3. "Neighborhood D."
4. "Neighborhoods E and F."

The effects discussed here will impose both benefits and costs upon the people in Fruitvale itself, Oakland, and to some extent the Bay Region. This section outlines the likely effects in Fruitvale. Obviously, city-wide and regional effects are also of interest, but these are extremely difficult to forecast and are beyond the scope of this study.

How to evaluate the costs and benefits of the effects in Fruitvale depends greatly on who is doing the evaluating. For example, an increase in the total number of housing units may mean something very different to a family looking for a place to live in Fruitvale than it may to an existing resident who is concerned about density increases. The owner of a parcel of land where new housing could be built may view it in still another way. As another example, a decrease in housing value may be a benefit to families looking for low-cost

Table 7

LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS UNDER CURRENT OUTLOOK: FRUITVALE STUDY
AREA DURING FIRST DECADE AFTER BART IMPACT

Factor	Neighborhoods A, B, and C	East 14th Street	Neighborhood D	Neighborhoods E and F
Total Housing Units	Moderate increase.	No significant change.	No significant change.	Minor decrease.
Physical Quality of Housing	In some places: minor deterioration. Elsewhere: no signi- ficant change.	No significant change.	Moderate deterioration.	Major deterioration.
Median Housing Rent and Value	No significant change.	No significant change.	Minor decrease.	Moderate decrease.
Median Income of Residents	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.	Moderate decrease.
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	Minor increase.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Markets Served By Commercial Facilities	N.A.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Total Land in Industrial Use	N.A.	N.A.	Minor increase.	Minor increase
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	Minor increase in some sections.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Overall Quality of Environment	No significant change.	Slight decrease.	Minor to moderate decrease.	Moderate to major decrease.
Total Assessed Valuation	Slight increase.	Slight decrease.	Minor decrease.	Moderate decrease.
Required Level of Public Expenditures	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Traffic on Major Streets in Fruitvale	Minor increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			
Patronage at Fruitvale BART Station	Minor increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			

housing, but it may represent a loss to the affected property owners.

In general, there will be some relatively small additions of housing or nonresidential space, especially above East 14th. However, continuing deterioration is likely in the sections below East 14th -- particularly those below the BART line.

Housing and Related Effects. As we have seen, there will be some new apartment construction in the sections above East 14th. A net increase of as much as 175 to 225 units can be expected there in the first ten years after BART impact.

Neighborhoods E and F will experience a decrease, but industrial demand will probably be insufficient to remove more than a fraction of the existing units there.

At least some of the new construction in the neighborhoods above East 14th may help to preserve portions of these areas, by encouraging existing owners and residents to maintain their property. However, it will not lead to a significant increase in average rent or home value. Furthermore, in some cases where allowable zoning densities are considerably higher than those of existing uses, owners of old housing may tend to undermaintain their property in anticipation of selling it for higher-density rebuilding in the future.

Below East 14th Street and particularly below the BART line, there will be continuing deterioration of existing housing. In these areas many lower-income property owners, particularly those with older structures requiring costly repairs, will probably be unable to afford the needed improvements. Others may be discouraged from maintaining or improving their own houses because of surrounding deterioration -- or because of expectations that their property will be converted to industrial use in the future. The more the existing structures and environment deteriorate, the more unlikely it becomes that new private-market

construction will take place.

Even though many of the residents below East 14th identify strongly with their area and have a desire to improve it, by themselves they will be unable to reverse the pressures for deterioration. Over time, many of these residents will leave the area and be replaced by even lower-income households who need low-cost housing even if it is seriously deteriorating. Because of their lower-incomes, these newcomers will find it even more difficult to assist in any future improvement efforts in the area.

Commercial and Industrial Effects. There may be some minor net increase in commercial space, along at least the section of East 14th west of Fruitvale Avenue. However, continued deterioration is likely in the old shopping district near the station. Some merchants may have been hoping that BART will revive this area, and may leave if they see this hope unfulfilled. This in turn may cause a further decline in expectations, and more deterioration.

There will be only a minor increase in land devoted to industrial use in Fruitvale. This increase will probably be due largely to existing industries expanding onto adjacent or nearby properties. In some cases the added land may be used to provide off-street parking.

Other Effects. In most cases, new construction in Fruitvale will not substantially change the existing scale of buildings. The overall quality of the environment will not change significantly above East 14th Street, but it will decline significantly below East 14th and it may also decline on East 14th itself.

New construction in the sections above East 14th will tend to stabilize overall assessed valuation there, but assessments below there may decrease more or less significantly due to continuing deterioration. It is assumed, under the "current outlook," that there will be no significant change in the present level of public

expenditures in Fruitvale.

When BART service to San Francisco begins, there will probably be a sudden, sizable increase in patronage at the Fruitvale station, and in BART-generated traffic in the study area. Following this initial spurt, there may be a continued but more gradual increase -- largely due to outside factors but also because of new construction in the sections of Fruitvale above East 14th. Table 7 mentions both the initial jump and the later increase.

However, the magnitude of this increase will depend partly on the degree to which BART patrons are discouraged from using this station because of the problems in the area.

The likely traffic increases themselves may cause some problems, as more traffic could compound the existing auto-rail conflicts and peak-hour back-ups mentioned in Chapter 2.

Chapter 5

Alternatives for Fruitvale

The outlook described could be altered if appropriate new public actions were undertaken. The choice of actions would depend on decisions as to which way the Fruitvale study area should change.

To facilitate such decision-making, four alternative strategies for Fruitvale are set forth and the effects of implementing each are described.

These alternatives are posed as "cartoons," simplified to focus on issues rather than details. Admittedly, different alternatives could be posed, although the ones presented here span a wide range. Additional alternatives could fit in between, or actually be a blend of, the ones presented here.

The section on each alternative gives first the goal which generates it, together with the arguments which can be made for pursuing this goal. It then describes the general implementation approach which would logically follow from this goal. This approach is then translated into the principal types of public actions (other than routine existing actions) which would be called for in each major subarea of Fruitvale. These actions would need to vary according to the existing conditions, and the economic forces, within each

subarea. Some specific examples are then given for certain of these actions--largely those dealing with particular locations. Finally, the major effects of implementing the alternative are discussed, for each subarea where possible.

These future effects are the same types as those discussed in Chapter 4. Just as there, it is impossible to predict their exact scale. It is particularly difficult to estimate the increases in level of public expenditures, as compared with the existing level, which each alternative would call for. To do this properly would require a precise plan and a list of projects beyond the scope of this study. Therefore words like "minor" or "major" are used to describe the added cost (in proportion to the size of the area it refers to).

Nonetheless, it is possible to anticipate the direction and general magnitude of the major changes likely under each alternative. That, in fact, has always been the basic objective of this report: to sketch out in broad terms what would happen under a series of alternatives, so as to permit their evaluation and thereby facilitate decision-making.

ALTERNATIVE I: PRESERVATION AS IS THROUGHOUT FRUITVALE

GOAL

This alternative would be based on the following goal:

KEEP LAND USES, DENSITIES, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS,
AND THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES
AND THE ENVIRONMENT AS THEY ARE NOW, THROUGHOUT
FRUITVALE.

This goal would seek to preserve all sections of the Fruitvale study area essentially as they are now. The wish to avoid possible displacement of lower-income residents, and business establishments, would be one major reason for pursuing this goal. In particular, Fruitvale would be seen as a reservoir of low- and moderate-cost housing. From this viewpoint even the residential areas below the BART line, despite their severe environmental problems, fill a strong need. The goal above would seek to protect all of Fruitvale's residential areas from further physical deterioration, from continued industrial encroachment, and conceivably from the disruption and higher rents which density increases might bring in some places. Similarly, it would seek to preserve Fruitvale's existing commercial and industrial areas. The goal would also reflect a desire to avoid population growth in an area which is generally quite deficient in recreation space.

GENERAL IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH

Although this alternative calls for a "status quo" Fruitvale, this cannot be accomplished by a "do nothing" public policy. To the contrary, a wide array of new public actions would be called for.

These actions would include rezoning the housing pockets below East 14th to some residential zone to protect them from further industrial encroachment, and downzoning the areas above East 14th to prevent density increases. Both these rezoning actions would also be designed to discourage undermaintenance by owners who may be speculating on future reuse.

However, rezonings by themselves would be far from sufficient. They would not deal with problems of structural decay because of age -- or undermaintenance due to owners' lack of financial resources. In some cases such rezonings might even be harmful, if unaccompanied by other public actions, since they might make it infeasible to replace some dilapidated old structures with new land uses.

Thus extensive conservation and rehabilitation efforts would also be called for -- and these would be backed up by various environmental improvements designed to offset such blighting influences as noise from industries and railroads. However, these actions would have to be carefully scaled so that they help preserve the present overall level of quality in the area. Radical improvement that might lead to significant rent increases -- and thereby pricing out many of the existing kinds of residents and establishments -- would be avoided.

However, even preserving the present overall quality level would require substantial investments in many deteriorating structures. Yet many lower-income persons would probably find it difficult to pay more for maintenance or rehab -- either directly (for owners) or indirectly through rent increases (for tenants). In order to ease this burden -- and minimize displacement -- some form of financial assistance program would therefore be an integral part of this alternative.

PRINCIPAL PUBLIC ACTIONS BY SUBAREA

Looked at by subarea, this strategy would call for the following major actions.

Neighborhoods A, B, and C:

- . Rezone to a low-density residential zone to prevent density increases and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts to the extent necessary to prevent further deterioration in the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements to the extent necessary to keep the area attractive to the kinds of income groups that live there now.
- . Provide some form of financial assistance program where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their properties, or to minimize the displacement of existing kinds of lower-income tenants from the area because of rent increases.

East 14th Street:

- . Rezone and/or make zoning text changes to reduce the allowable density of new construction, ensure that land uses are consistent with the area's present overall character, and discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts to the extent necessary to prevent further deterioration in the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements to the extent necessary to keep the area attractive to the kinds of income groups and establishments that shop, live, or do business there now.
- . Provide some form of financial assistance program where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their properties, or to minimize the displacement of existing kinds of lower-income tenants from the area because of rent increases.

Neighborhood D:

- . Rezone to a low-density residential zone all significant sections which are not actually in commercial use to prevent industrial or commercial encroachment and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.
- . In those sections which are actually in industrial or commercial use, rezone and/or make zoning text changes to reduce the allowable density of new construction, to ensure that land uses are consistent with the area's present overall character, to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation, and to protect nearby housing.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts to the extent necessary to prevent further deterioration in the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements to the extent necessary to keep the area attractive to the kinds of people and establishments that live, shop, or do business there now.
- . Provide some form of financial assistance program where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their properties, or to minimize the displacement of existing kinds of lower-income tenants from the area because of rent increases.

Neighborhoods E and F:

- . Rezone to a low-density residential zone all significant sections which are actually in residential use, to protect this housing from industrial encroachment and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.
- . In those sections which are in industrial or other nonresidential use, rezone and/or make zoning text changes to reduce the allowable density of new construction, to ensure that land uses are consistent with the area's present overall character, to

discourage undermaintenance due to speculation, and to protect nearby housing.

- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts to the extent necessary to prevent further deterioration in the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements to the extent necessary to keep the area attractive to the kinds of people and establishments that live, shop, or do business there now.
- . Provide some form of financial assistance program where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their properties, or to minimize the displacement of existing kinds of lower-income tenants from the area because of rent increases.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SOME OF THE ABOVE ACTIONS

Zoning. Map E illustrates schematically the kind of basic zoning pattern which might result from the rezonings called for above.

Environmental Improvements. Street tree planting would be one helpful way of combatting further decline in the visual environment. In particular, trees could be planted along East 14th throughout the old shopping district (completing the effort suggested some years ago by the planting of one "pilot block" here). Street trees would also be especially valuable within and along the industrial edges of the various housing pockets below East 14th. In addition, various open industrial uses here might be planted or otherwise screened. Planting or noise baffles could be installed selectively along the freeway and railroad tracks, especially where large numbers of houses are right next to them. Some curb and gutter improvements could also be helpful at various places in the sections below the BART line.

Another possible improvement would be the partial redesign of Sanborn Park to allow some more active recreational use.

Financial Assistance Programs. Besides rehabilitation grants or loans per se, various other forms of financial assistance programs could help both to back up the rehab efforts themselves and to minimize the displacement of lower-income residents or establishments from the area. One example would be the leasing or acquisition of older dwellings for low- or moderate-income publicly assisted housing. Another example would be programs to help tenants become homeowners. Beyond these would be new employment, job training, or other general programs which would increase people's abilities to make rehab investments or to absorb rent increases.

It is possible that at least some of the assistance programs could be provided through private cooperative efforts, rather than directly involving public agencies.

EFFECTS

Table 8 outlines the major physical, economic, and social effects which would probably result if this alternative were implemented. As might be expected, there would be very little change in Fruitvale. In general, land uses would tend to be preserved as they are now.

Housing and Related Effects. There would probably be very few new housing units built, and no significant net change in total housing quantity--except for minor decreases in the sections below East 14th where conservation and rehab efforts would lead inevitably to removal of the most dilapidated existing units.

The further spread of physical deterioration would be stopped, and in the sections below East 14th there

MapE

**Illustrative
Basic Zoning
Under Alternative
I**



2031



**OAKLAND
CITY PLANNING
DEPARTMENT**

Table 8

LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTING ALTERNATIVE I:
FRUITVALE STUDY AREA DURING FIRST DECADE AFTER BART IMPACT

Factor	Neighborhoods A, B, and C	East 14th Street	Neighborhood D	Neighborhoods E and F
Total Housing Units	No significant change.	No significant change.	Minor decrease.	Minor decrease.
Physical Quality of Housing	No significant change.	No significant change.	Minor improvement.	Minor improvement.
Median Housing Rent and Value	No significant change.	No significant change.	Slight increase.	Slight increase.
Median Income of Residents	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Markets Served by Commercial Facilities	N.A.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Total Land in Industrial Use	N.A.	N.A.	No significant change.	Minor increase.
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.	No significant change.
Overall Quality of Environment	No significant change.	Minor improvement.	Minor improvement.	Minor improvement.
Total Assessed Valuation	No significant change.	No significant change.	Slight increase.	Slight increase.
Required Level of Public Expenditures	Minor increase.	Minor to moderate increases, depending on location.	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases, depending on location.
Traffic on Major Streets in Fruitvale	Minor increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			
Patronage at Fruitvale BART Station	Minor increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			

would actually be some minor improvement in the overall quality of housing. This in turn would lead to a slight increase in average rents and home values. However, the scale of these increases would probably not be great enough to cause any substantial displacement of existing kinds of income groups.

Commercial and Industrial Effects. Even though this alternative would reduce allowable densities, there would still be a very limited amount of small-scale commercial or medical construction on vacant or other low-cost sites on East 14th. Overall, the markets served by retailers and offices in Fruitvale would remain about the same as now. There would probably be some minor additions of industrial space, including expansions of existing plants or warehouses.

Other Effects. Although the basic physical character and scale of Fruitvale would not change, the programs to halt deterioration would in many sections lead inevitably to some minor improvement in the general quality of the environment.

Overall, assessments would tend to increase slightly. Required increases in public expenditures--basically rehab efforts, financial assistance programs, and some environmental improvements--would vary between sub-areas depending on their physical condition and the ability of existing residents or owners to pay for rehab.

Looking beyond the initial traffic changes which will occur when BART service to San Francisco begins, some gradual increase in traffic volume would be likely on at least some of Fruitvale's major streets. This increase would be due in part to increasing use of the Fruitvale BART station by commuters. Indeed, this alternative would encourage more outside commuters to use the Fruitvale BART station because it would prevent further environmental decay which might otherwise deter them.

ALTERNATIVE II: NEW DEVELOPMENT
NEAR THE STATION

GOALS

This alternative would be based on the following goals:

MAXIMIZE NEW PRIVATE INVESTMENT, AND UPGRADE THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT, IN A FEW PLACES ESPECIALLY WELL RELATED TO THE BART STATION. IN THE REMAINING SECTIONS, KEEP LAND USES, DENSITIES, ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, AND THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT AS THEY ARE NOW.

This strategy would share with Alternative I a concern for protecting lower-cost housing and for minimizing displacement of lower-income people. Accordingly it would seek to preserve most sections of Fruitvale essentially as they are now. However, it would also recognize that -- if appropriate public actions are taken to upgrade the vicinity -- BART could significantly increase development feasibility at sites near the station. (Or rather, it could do so at those locations northeast of the BART line where environmental problems are less severe.) The goal would further assume that even high-density construction could be accommodated in these places without disrupting existing conditions in the rest of Fruitvale.

GENERAL IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH

The necessary implementation approach would vary between (1) the places best related to the BART station and (2) the remaining sections of Fruitvale.

In the former locations, vigorous efforts would be made to upgrade the environment and attract new private

investment. Attractive rebuilding on a fairly substantial scale immediately opposite the station would be critical, and this might have to involve a moderate-scale public redevelopment project. (In general, it would also be important to see that new private construction is well designed and attractive, so as to further improve the appearance and desirability of the area.) In the remaining sections of Fruitvale there would be downzoning, conservation, and other actions like those under Alternative I, designed to keep these sections basically as they are now.

PRINCIPAL PUBLIC ACTIONS BY SUBAREA

By subarea, the following major actions would be called for.

Neighborhoods A, B, and C:

- . Downzone to a low-density residential zone all sections, except for those nearest the BART station, to prevent density increases and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.
- . In those sections nearest the station, make zoning text changes and/or rezone to ensure that new construction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts:
 - . so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of structures in the sections nearest the station,
 - . so as to preserve the existing overall quality level in the remaining sections.
- . Make environmental improvements:
 - . so as to significantly upgrade the environment, and encourage private investment, in the sections nearest the station,

- . so as to keep the remaining sections attractive to the kinds of income groups that live there now.

- . Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their houses, or to minimize the displacement of existing kinds of lower-income tenants from the area because of rent increases.

East 14th Street:

- . Rezone and/or make zoning text changes to ensure that new construction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.
- . Encourage or assist, through moderate-size redevelopment if appropriate, the attractive rebuilding of property near the station on a large enough scale to allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements, especially near the station, so as to generally upgrade the area and further encourage private investment.
- . Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their properties, or to minimize the displacement of existing kinds of lower-income tenants from the area because of rent increases.

Neighborhood D:

- . Rezone those significant sections which are actually in residential use to a medium- or high-density residential zone, to allow construction of appropriate new housing and to protect this housing from industrial or commercial encroachment; and make zoning text changes as needed to ensure that new

construction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.

- . In significant sections which are actually in nonresidential use, rezone and/or make zoning text changes to allow appropriate new uses and to ensure that new construction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.
- . Encourage or assist, through moderate-size redevelopment if appropriate, the attractive rebuilding of property at or near the station on a large enough scale to allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements, especially near the station, so as to generally upgrade the area and further encourage private investment.
- . Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their properties, or to minimize the displacement of existing kinds of lower-income tenants from the area because of rent increases.

Neighborhoods E and F:

- . Rezone to a low-density residential zone all significant sections which are actually in residential use, to protect this housing from industrial encroachment and to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation.
- . In those sections which are in industrial or other nonresidential use, rezone and/or make zoning text changes to reduce the allowable density of new construction, to ensure that land uses are consistent with the area's present overall character, to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation, and to

protect nearby housing.

- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts to the extent necessary to prevent further deterioration in the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements to the extent necessary to keep the area attractive to the kinds of people and establishments that live, shop, or do business there now.
- . Provide some form of financial assistance where needed to enable existing owners to rehabilitate their properties, or to minimize the displacement of existing kinds of lower-income tenants from the area because of rent increases.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SOME OF THE ABOVE ACTIONS

Zoning. Map F is a schematic example of what the basic zoning pattern might look like under this alternative. In addition to this basic zoning, the S-4 Design Review Combining Zone might be mapped in some visually significant places, such as the portion of East 12th across from the station.

Actions to Assist Rebuilding. The most promising general location for the rebuilding near the station which this alternative calls for would seem to be the row of blocks just above the station parking lot. In particular, the block bounded by East 12th, East 14th, Fruitvale Avenue, and 33rd Avenue has several advantages: its large size, its strategic and "pivotal" location at the junction of Fruitvale's two main streets, and its existing relatively low intensity of investment. Adjacent to this block, there are opportunities along the upper side of East 12th Street between 33rd and 37th Avenues in the form of underused or even vacant pieces of land left over from the street realignment a few years ago. In addition, it might be possible to close one or more of the short streets running between East 12th and East 14th. If there were a redevelopment

project taking in all or some of these sites, it might provide space for new commercial facilities (some of them oriented to BART commuters) and for some higher-density apartments (especially, perhaps, senior citizen housing). It is not possible, without a detailed marketability analysis beyond the scope of this study, to say how much of a writedown would be needed for such a project. However, the writedown might not be excessive if the project area were of limited size. (Tax increments from the project might be used to pay for capital improvements.)

Rehabilitation. A "rehabilitation" urban renewal project might be undertaken along some portions of East 14th -- generally between Fruitvale Avenue and 39th. Such an effort could be valuable in supplementing the adjacent rebuilding activities.

Environmental Improvements. New or improved park or recreational space could be very valuable under this alternative -- especially in those sections near the station where growth would be encouraged. For example, plazas or small parks might be incorporated in the rebuilding project near the station. Nearby, one or both of the underused public parking lots just below East 14th might be converted to playground use.

Also, Sanborn Park might be redesigned in part for more active use -- and perhaps expanded along Sausal Creek. Again, some playground space or miniparks might be added in the more remote sections below the BART line.

Other possible environmental improvements would be (1) street tree planting (especially in the sections where this alternative would seek to encourage new private construction), (2) utility undergrounding, (3) planting or screening of open industrial or commercial uses, (4) some form of buffering along the freeway and railroad tracks, and (5) some curb and gutter improvements at various places in the sections below the BART line.

Financial Assistance Programs. In addition to the examples of financial assistance programs already given

Illustrative Basic Zoning Under Alternative II



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Table 9
 LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTING ALTERNATIVE II:
 FRUITVALE STUDY AREA DURING FIRST DECADE AFTER BART IMPACT

Factor	Neighborhoods A, B, and C	East 14th Street	Neighborhood D	Neighborhoods E and F
Total Housing Units	Near station: Major increase. Elsewhere: no significant change.	Moderate increase.	Major increase.	Minor decrease.
Physical Quality of Housing	Minor to moderate improvement, depending on location.	Minor improvement.	Moderate improvement.	Minor improvement.
Median Housing Rent and Value	Slight to moderate increases, depending on location.	Minor increase.	Moderate increase.	Slight increase.
Median Income of Residents	No significant change.	No significant change.	Moderate increase.	No significant change.
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	Moderate increase.	Major increase.	No significant change.
Markets Served By Commercial Facilities	N.A.	Increased commuter or regional orientation near station.	Increased commuter or regional orientation.	No significant change.
Total Land in Industrial Use	N.A.	N.A.	No significant change.	Minor increase.
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	Near station: Moderate increase. Elsewhere: No significant change.	Minor increase.	Major increase.	No significant change.
Overall Quality of Environment	Moderate improvement.	Moderate improvement.	Major improvement.	Minor improvement.
Total Assessed Valuation	Slight to moderate increases, depending on location.	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases, depending on location.	Slight increase.
Required Level of Public Expenditures	Minor to moderate increases, depending on location.	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases, depending on location.	Moderate to major increases, depending on location.
Traffic on Major Streets in Fruitvale	Moderate increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			
Patronage at Fruitvale BART Station	Moderate increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			

under Alternative I, the construction of new publicly assisted housing could be appropriate here to help minimize the displacement of lower-income households from the area.

EFFECTS

Table 9 shows the major kinds of effects which would probably result if this alternative were implemented. As might be expected, there would be quite significant changes in those sections near the station, but only minor changes in the rest of the study area.

Housing and Related Effects. Overall, there might be a net increase in excess of 600 to 750 units during the first ten years after BART impact. There would be a substantial amount of medium- and high-density housing construction in certain sections near the station. Within these sections there would also be significant improvements in the overall quality of housing. Average rents here would also tend to increase, and in some places new residents would tend to have higher incomes than their predecessors.

In the sections farther from the station the effects would be much like those under Alternative I. The spread of deterioration would be stopped, and these sections would see some slow improvement. There would be some small housing price increases, but the average incomes of residents probably would not change greatly.

Commercial and Industrial Effects. For retail and office space combined, and for the study area as a whole, there might be a net increase of 200,000 to 300,000 square feet during the first decade after BART impact. (Most of this increase would probably be retail space.)

Establishments near the station would be likely to become more oriented toward a city-wide or regional market, or at least to the market provided by BART patrons who live outside Fruitvale.

Other Effects. Building scale would probably increase in the sections near the station. Especially in those sections, the overall quality of the environment would tend to improve.

The new development under this alternative would probably add somewhat to the gradual increase in automobile traffic which is likely because of outside factors. However, concentrating the new construction near the station would help to minimize its traffic impact. Patronage at the Fruitvale BART station would be enhanced both by the nearby new construction and by the upgrading of the station environs, which would encourage people living outside Fruitvale to use this station.

ALTERNATIVE III: MAXIMUM PRIVATE INVESTMENT WITHOUT MASSIVE REDEVELOPMENT

GOAL

The underlying goal of this alternative would be as follows:

MAXIMIZE PRIVATE INVESTMENT, AND UPGRADE THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT, IN FRUITVALE AS A WHOLE TO THE EXTENT THIS MAY BE DONE WITHOUT INVOLVING VERY LARGE-SCALE REDEVELOPMENT.

This goal would seek to realize more fully the investment potential which BART could help to create in Fruitvale. It would assume that, if appropriate public actions are taken, new investment could be attracted to many locations in Fruitvale--not just those near the station. New housing locations, for example, might include sites along the feeder bus lines which come down to the station, or near new parks which might be created at some places above East 14th.

The constraint which the goal incorporates is that the "maximizing" and upgrading go only as far as is possible without a very large redevelopment project. It does not rule out smaller-scale redevelopment projects.

It is important to understand that the term "maximum private investment" refers to aggregate investment, counting both new construction and investment in maintaining or renovating existing buildings. Therefore in those sections where little new construction would be likely, the goal above would basically be calling for maximum investment in existing structures.

The types of land use in which the most investment could be generated would also vary by location. In those sections below the BART line, for example, the investment potential for housing would be limited by fundamental environmental problems, many of which could not be remedied without the kind of massive redevelopment which this alternative would rule out. Here conversion to industrial use would be implied, as the best way to "maximize private investment."

GENERAL IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH

Public actions would seek to assist or encourage land assembly and rebuilding at strategic locations, thereby stimulating other private investment nearby, and this could involve moderate-scale redevelopment projects where appropriate. These efforts would be backed up by widespread rehabilitation and environmental improvements. Creation of new park and recreation space would be an important part of this strategy, both to encourage housing construction on nearby sites and to serve the new residents.

As for zoning, this alternative would not leave all residential sections open to high-density construction. That would be self-defeating. There would clearly be insufficient demand to rebuild all these areas--and in some places overzoning could tend to produce undermaintenance due to speculation. Instead, zoning changes would seek to channel higher-density housing into the most appropriate locations, such as those near the station, along feeder bus lines, or near parks. The remaining sections would be down-zoned, at least for the short run.

Since this alternative would accept and in fact stimulate rent increases, property owners in the sections above the BART line would generally not need public financial assistance to pay for rehabilitation.

In the sections below the BART line, public actions

would have to be different. These sections would remain in industrial zoning. However, industrial expansion here would be gradual. At least for the short run, much existing housing would remain. If it continued to deteriorate it would discourage industrial investment. Therefore this alternative would call for code enforcement or other rehab efforts, with the most dilapidated houses being removed. Since many of the houses would continue to be owned by low-income persons, some form of financial assistance would be needed here so that these efforts could be made without causing extreme hardships. Also appropriate in some places here might be zoning controls to give some measure of protection to the remaining houses, and environmental improvements--both to discourage housing deterioration and to encourage industrial expansion.

PRINCIPAL PUBLIC ACTIONS BY SUBAREA

Looked at by subarea, the following major actions would be called for.

Neighborhoods A, B, and C:

- . Downzone those sections which are less accessible to the station, feeder bus lines, or to park or recreation space--especially those sections where lot sizes are small--so as to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation. In the long run, if and when housing demand and local public facilities are sufficient, upzone the most accessible portions to allow new construction at higher densities.
- . In general, make zoning text changes and/or rezone to ensure that new construction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.
- . Encourage or assist, through moderate-size redevelopment if appropriate, the attractive rebuilding of property at strategic locations on a large enough scale to allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.

- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements, including especially the provision of new park or recreation space, so as to generally upgrade the area and further encourage private investment.
- . Make access improvements to make it easier to get to the BART station.

East 14th Street:

- . Rezone and/or make zoning text changes to ensure that new construction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.
- . Encourage or assist, through moderate-size redevelopment if appropriate, the attractive rebuilding of property near the station on a large enough scale to allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements, especially near the station, so as to generally upgrade the area and further encourage private investment.
- . Provide improved transit service to the station.

Neighborhood D:

- . Rezone so as to allow appropriate new residential and other uses; and make zoning text changes and/or rezone as needed to ensure that new construction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.

- . Encourage or assist, through moderate-size redevelopment if appropriate, the attractive rebuilding of property at or near the station on a large enough scale to allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements, especially near the station, so as to generally upgrade the area and further encourage private investment.
- . Provide improved transit service from the station to other parts of Fruitvale.

Neighborhoods E and F:

- . Rezone to a more restrictive industrial zone and/or make zoning text changes, to the extent needed to help encourage new industrial investment and to provide some reasonable protection to those housing units still remaining in the area.
- . Encourage or assist, through moderate-scale redevelopment if appropriate, land assembly which replaces deteriorated structures with new industrial investment.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements so as to generally upgrade the area and encourage new industrial investment.
- . Provide improved transit service to the BART station.
- . Provide some form of financial assistance program where necessary to enable owners to rehabilitate existing housing.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SOME OF THE ABOVE ACTIONS

Zoning. Map G suggests what the basic zoning pattern might be like under this alternative. It also illustrates how some zoning changes might be done only in the long run, if and when market demand and public facilities were sufficient. In addition to the basic zones on the map, the S-4 Design Review Combining Zone might be used in some visually significant places.

Actions to Assist Rebuilding. Possibilities for strategically located rebuilding sites would include (1) the row of blocks just above the station parking lot (already discussed under Alternative II); (2) various sites along Sausal Creek; (3) possibly some of the shallow blocks, and short dead-end streets, along San Leandro Street immediately behind the BART station; and (4) various sites near major industries below the BART line.

Environmental Improvements. One especially promising possibility for added recreation space would be the creation of a linear park along Sausal Creek. The County Flood Control District anticipates doing flood control improvements along this stream in the near future, and this suggests the opportunity of a multi-purpose project which would provide recreational facilities, too. A linear park design could preserve the large trees along the creek; provide for wider recreation spaces at some points (such as near East 15th Street); and connect these spaces, by means of a creek-side trail, with East 14th Street, an improved Sanborn Park, Hawthorne and Whitton Schools, Foothill Boulevard, and perhaps (ultimately) Dimond Park.

A similar creekside trail with adjacent playground space might be created along the portion of Peralta Creek near 37th and 39th Avenues. This could be done in connection with the Flood Control District's imminent work there. Additional possibilities for new park or recreation space would include sites within some of the rebuilding projects, and the presently

Illustrative Basic Zoning Under Alternative III



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Table 10
 LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTING ALTERNATIVE III:
 FRUITVALE STUDY AREA DURING FIRST DECADE AFTER BART IMPACT

Factor	Neighborhoods A, B, and C	East 14th Street	Neighborhood D	Neighborhoods E and F
Total Housing Units	Minor to major increases, depend- ing on location.	Moderate increase.	Major increase.	Moderate decrease.
Physical Quality of Housing	Moderate improve- ment.	Moderate improve- ment.	Moderate improve- ment.	Minor improvement.
Median Housing Rent and Value	Moderate increase.	Moderate increase.	Moderate increase.	Slight increase.
Median Income of Residents	Moderate increase.	Moderate increase.	Moderate increase.	No significant change.
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	Moderate increase.	Major increase.	Minor increase.
Markets Served By Commercial Facilities	N.A.	Increased commuter or regional orientation.	Increased commuter or regional orientation.	No significant change.
Total Land in Industrial Use	N.A.	N.A.	No significant change.	Minor increase.
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	Moderate increase (no change in some sections).	Moderate increase.	Major increase.	No significant change.
Overall Quality of Environment	Moderate improve- ment.	Moderate improvement.	Major improvement.	Moderate improve- ment.
Total Assessed Valuation	Moderate increase.	Moderate increase.	Major increase.	Slight to moderate increases, depend- ing on location.
Required Level of Public Expenditures	Moderate increase.	Moderate increase.	Moderate to major increases, depend- ing on location.	Moderate to major increases, depend- ing on location.
Traffic on Major Streets in Fruitvale	Moderate increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			
Patronage at Fruitvale BART Station	Moderate increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			

underused public parking lots just below East 14th.

Other possible environmental improvements would be (1) street tree planting, (2) utility undergrounding, (3) planting or screening of unsightly open industrial or commercial uses, (4) some type of buffering along the Western Pacific Railroad tracks near the station, (5) some curb and gutter improvements at various places in the sections below the BART line, and (6) selected street closings or narrowings to discourage through traffic on some residential side streets. As an example of the latter, it might be possible to close 34th Avenue at St. Elizabeth's School, especially if the capacity of parallel 35th Avenue were increased by widening (the vacated right-of-way could then be used for expanding St. Elizabeth's playground).

Access Improvements. Examples of possible access improvements could include (1) widening of 35th Avenue from Foothill Boulevard down to San Leandro Street; (2) increasing the frequency of service on the feeder bus lines which now lead down to the station along Fruitvale, 35th and 38th Avenues; (3) looping some of the major East 14th Street through bus lines down to connect with the station (possibly with the addition of a shuttle line between the station and important destinations on East 14th such as Wards); and (4) providing improved transit service between the station and the sections below the BART line.

EFFECTS

Table 10 outlines the major effects which would probably result from implementing this alternative. As one might expect, there would be substantial changes in many sections of Fruitvale.

Housing and Related Effects. A great deal of new housing would be built in parts of the sections above the BART line--especially near the station and near feeder bus routes and parks. For the study area as a whole, there might be a net housing increase of between 625

to 825 units during the first ten years after BART impact.

There would be significant improvements in housing quality, and rent increases, in the sections above the BART line. These changes would tend to dislocate those existing residents who could not afford to pay the costs of upgrading, either directly (as owners) or indirectly through increased rentals. New residents would tend to have higher incomes.

In the sections below the BART line, as noted earlier, much of the existing housing would remain for a long time. However, the process of deterioration would be halted, and some of the most dilapidated units would probably be demolished.

Commercial and Industrial Effects. Overall, the first decade after BART impact might see a net increase of between 250,000 to 350,000 square feet of retail and office space. (As under Alternative II, most of the increase would probably be in the form of retail space.) There would be some tendency for establishments along East 14th and near the station to become more oriented to a city-wide, regional, or commuter market.

Other Effects. There would be substantial increases in building scale at various places within the sections above the BART line, while the overall quality of the environment would to some degree increase in all sections of the study area. In many locations there would be significant increases in assessed valuation. The required increases in public expenditures would also be substantial. Thus a good deal of new private investment could be stimulated in Fruitvale under this alternative, although the public cost would be quite significant. Substantial traffic increases could be expected on many major streets in Fruitvale. Patronage at the Fruitvale BART station would also increase significantly.

ALTERNATIVE IV: MAXIMUM
PRIVATE INVESTMENT

GOAL

This alternative would be based on the following goal:

MAXIMIZE PRIVATE INVESTMENT, AND UPGRADE THE OVERALL PHYSICAL QUALITY OF STRUCTURES AND THE ENVIRONMENT, IN FRUITVALE AS A WHOLE.

This goal is the same as that on which Alternative III would be based except that it would omit the latter's rule against massive clearance. Indeed large-scale redevelopment would be essential to maximizing private investment in the sections below East 14th--and especially below the BART line. Under the right conditions the BART station could generate a sizable demand for nearby sites in these sections, especially for housing and commercial space. However, the full potential for this could be realized only if the whole environment around the station were changed radically enough to command much higher rents--or, in economic terms, if this became a new "neighborhood."

From a long-range perspective, achieving major new development here would be viewed as desirable because of BART and the age of many of the existing buildings--and also because major improvements here could stimulate improvements in other portions of Fruitvale and adjacent districts.

GENERAL IMPLEMENTATION APPROACH

There would be a large-scale redevelopment project surrounding the station. This, together with various accompanying public actions, would seek to vastly im-

prove the area and create here a very sizable "enclave" with its own special environment. The transformation would need to include radical changes in the major circulation pattern which presently chops this area up so badly. The "enclave" would be big enough to accommodate a variety of land uses, including housing and appropriate commercial facilities.

In the remainder of Fruitvale, the general implementation approach would be similar to that under Alternative III. In the section below the Southern Pacific tracks some rehab assistance might be needed, again, for remaining low-income homeowners--since, even with the added stimulus of nearby redevelopment, there would probably still not be enough industrial demand in the short run to replace all the old housing there.

PRINCIPAL PUBLIC ACTIONS BY SUBAREA

By subarea, the following actions would be needed.

Neighborhoods A, B, and C:

- . Downzone those sections which are less accessible to the station, feeder bus lines, or to park or recreation space--especially those sections where lots are small--so as to discourage undermaintenance due to speculation. In the long run, if and when housing demand and local public facilities are sufficient, upzone the most accessible portions to allow new construction at higher densities.
- . In general, make zoning text changes and/or rezone to ensure that new construction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.
- . Encourage or assist, through redevelopment if appropriate, the attractive rebuilding of property at strategic locations on a large enough scale to

allow comprehensive site design with substantial on-site amenities.

- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of structures.
- . Make environmental improvements, including new park or recreation space, so as to generally upgrade the area and further encourage private investment.
- . Make access improvements to make it easier to get to the BART station.

East 14th Street:

- . Rezone and/or make zoning text changes to ensure that new construction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.
- . Undertake large-scale redevelopment in the section near the station, so as to remove deteriorating uses, facilitate rebuilding, and bring in appropriate new uses.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts on those properties not redeveloped, so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of existing structures.
- . Make environmental improvements at various locations, especially where redevelopment is taking place, so as to significantly upgrade the area and further encourage private investment.
- . Provide improved transit service to the station.

Neighborhood D:

- . Rezone as necessary to allow appropriate new residential, commercial, and other uses in the desired locations.
- . In general, make zoning text changes and/or rezone to ensure that new construction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.
- . Undertake large-scale redevelopment so as to remove deteriorating uses, facilitate rebuilding, and bring in appropriate housing and other new uses.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts on those properties not redeveloped, so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of existing structures.
- . Make environmental improvements and reorganize the circulation pattern as necessary to generally upgrade the area, to facilitate redevelopment by creating large precincts free from through traffic, to improve circulation, and to further encourage private investment.
- . Provide improved transit service from the station to other parts of Fruitvale.

Neighborhoods E and F:

- . Rezone those sections near the station which are to be redeveloped to allow appropriate new residential, commercial and other uses in the desired locations; and make zoning text changes as needed to ensure that new con-

struction will be attractive and harmonious with its surroundings.

- . In the remaining sections, rezone to a more restrictive industrial zone and/or make zoning text changes, to the extent needed to help encourage new industrial investment, to provide some reasonable protection to those housing units still remaining in these sections, and to protect the adjacent new uses near the station.
- . Undertake large-scale redevelopment near the station so as to remove deteriorating uses, facilitate rebuilding, and bring in appropriate new housing and other uses.
- . In those sections farther from the station, encourage or assist--through redevelopment if appropriate--land assembly which replaces deteriorated structures with new industrial investment.
- . Encourage and require conservation and rehabilitation efforts on those properties not being redeveloped, so as to upgrade the overall physical quality of existing structures.
- . Make environmental improvements and reorganize the circulation pattern as necessary to generally upgrade the area, to facilitate redevelopment near the station by creating large precincts free from through traffic, to improve circulation, and to further encourage private investment.
- . Provide improved transit service to the BART station.
- . Provide some form of financial assistance program where necessary to enable owners to rehabilitate existing housing.

SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF SOME OF THE ABOVE ACTIONS

Zoning. Map H suggests schematically what the basic

zoning pattern might look like under this alternative. (Again, the S-4 Design Review Combining Zone could be mapped in places of special visual significance.)

Redevelopment. The large-scale redevelopment project around the station, which this alternative would call for, might take in all or most of the blocks between Fruitvale Avenue, East 14th, 42nd Avenue, and the Southern Pacific tracks--and it might include air-rights development over the BART parking itself. As mentioned earlier, the large "enclave" created by this project might provide for a variety of land uses. In addition to housing and commercial space, there might be some light industrial space around the area's boundaries with adjacent industrial sections.

Probably this redevelopment project would have to offer very large writedowns to induce developers to build there. On the other hand, it might be able to generate very sizable tax increments.

Aside from this main redevelopment area, other possible rebuilding projects might include the examples which were given under Alternative III.

Environmental and Access Improvements. This alternative would call for major reorganization of the circulation pattern near the BART station, both to create a better environment here and to improve accessibility in general. One example could be removing the present Western Pacific tracks, which now sharply divide the station from the area below it and interfere with nearby traffic. W.P. service would be relocated to run along the Southern Pacific right-of-way at least for the section through Fruitvale.

Another possible project (which would be much easier to do if the Western Pacific line were relocated) would involve providing a direct connection, somewhere in the study area, between East 12th Street and San Leandro Street. This would obviously simplify the traffic pattern at Fruitvale Avenue. It would also reduce from two to one the number of major northwest-to-southeast routes passing through the station's

Map H

Illustrative Basic Zoning Under Alternative IV

----- Possible Long-Run
(R-50) Zoning Where
Different From
Short-Run



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Table 11
 LIKELY MAJOR EFFECTS OF IMPLEMENTING ALTERNATIVE IV:
 FRUITVALE STUDY AREA DURING FIRST DECADE AFTER BART IMPACT

Factor	Neighborhoods A, B, and C	East 14th Street	Neighborhood D	Neighborhoods E and F
Total Housing Units	Minor to major increases, depend- ing on location.	Major increase.	Major increase.	Near station: Major increase. Elsewhere: Major decrease.
Physical Quality of Housing	Moderate improve- ment.	Major improvement.	Major improvement	Major improvement.
Median Housing Rent and Value	Moderate increase.	Major increase.	Major increase.	Major increase.
Median Income of Residents	Moderate increase.	Major increase.	Major increase.	Major increase.
Total Commercial Floor Space	N.A.	Major increase.	Major increase.	Minor increase.
Markets Served By Commercial Facilities	N.A.	Increased commuter, regional, or higher- income orientation.	Increased commuter, regional, or higher- income orientation.	Increased commuter, regional, or higher- income orientation.
Total Land in Industrial Use	N.A.	N.A.	No significant change.	Moderate increase.
Visual Scale of Buildings in Area	Moderate increase (no change in some sections).	Moderate increase.	Major increase.	Moderate increase.
Overall Quality of Environment	Moderate improve- ment.	Major improvement.	Major improvement.	Major improvement.
Total Assessed Valuation	Moderate to major increases, depend- ing on location.	Major increase.	Major increase.	Moderate to major increases, depend- ing on location.
Required Level of Public Expenditures	Moderate increase.	Major increase.	Major increase.	Major increase.
Traffic on Major Streets in Fruitvale	Moderate to major increases, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			
Patronage at Fruitvale BART Station	Major increase, following initial jump when BART goes to San Francisco.			

immediate environs. The sections of East 12th, San Leandro, and other local streets which would not be needed for through traffic could then be closed or realigned freely for the large-scale redevelopment project around the station.

Since that redevelopment project would seek to create a whole new residential environment, it might be desirable to provide a full-fledged neighborhood park there--and perhaps even a new elementary school next to it. (The existing Dewey Continuation High School might be converted to serve as a nucleus for this.) On this residential area's southern edge, heavy planting or other buffering could be very appropriate to separate it from the Southern Pacific Railroad tracks and the industrial sections below them.

In addition, the examples of environmental and access improvements given under Alternative III could also be appropriate here.

EFFECTS

Table 11 outlines the likely major effects of implementing this alternative. In general, there would be substantial changes in many parts of Fruitvale, especially in the "enclave" which would be created around the BART station.

Housing and Related Effects. Very sizable amounts of new housing would be built in the "enclave," as well as at various places above East 14th. For the Fruitvale study area as a whole, the net housing increase during the first decade after BART impact might be on the order of 1,000 to 1,300 units.

There would also be substantial housing-quality improvement and rent increases in many sections. These changes would tend to dislocate those existing residents who could not afford the higher costs.

In the "enclave" itself, households would generally have far higher incomes than the existing residents there.

Commercial and Industrial Effects. Overall, there might be a net increase of between 250,000 to 400,000 square feet of retail or office space in the first ten years after BART impact. (Again, most of this increase would probably be retail space.)

As under Alternative III, many establishments would very likely become more oriented to a city-wide, regional, or commuter market. However, another important market would be provided by the large amounts of new--and considerably higher income--housing which this alternative would cause to be built in Fruitvale.

Some existing industries might be removed from the "enclave" by redevelopment, but this alternative would probably be able to stimulate a significant amount of new industrial investment in the section below the S.P. tracks.

Other Effects. Many sections of Fruitvale would see substantial increases in building scale, as well as in the overall quality of the environment. The most dramatic changes would be in the "enclave" around the station.

Overall, there would be a bigger increase in assessed valuation than under any other alternative. The overall increase in public expenditures would also be the highest. The redevelopment and other actions in the "enclave" would be very expensive--although the "enclave's" impact on Fruitvale's overall image might mean that less expenditures would be required in some other sections than under Alternative III.

Again, substantial traffic increases could be expected on at least some arterials in Fruitvale. At the same time, this alternative would do more than any other to increase ridership at the Fruitvale BART station.

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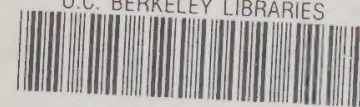
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